

PEACE EPISODES ON THE NIAGARA

BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY PUBLICATIONS
VOLUME XVIII

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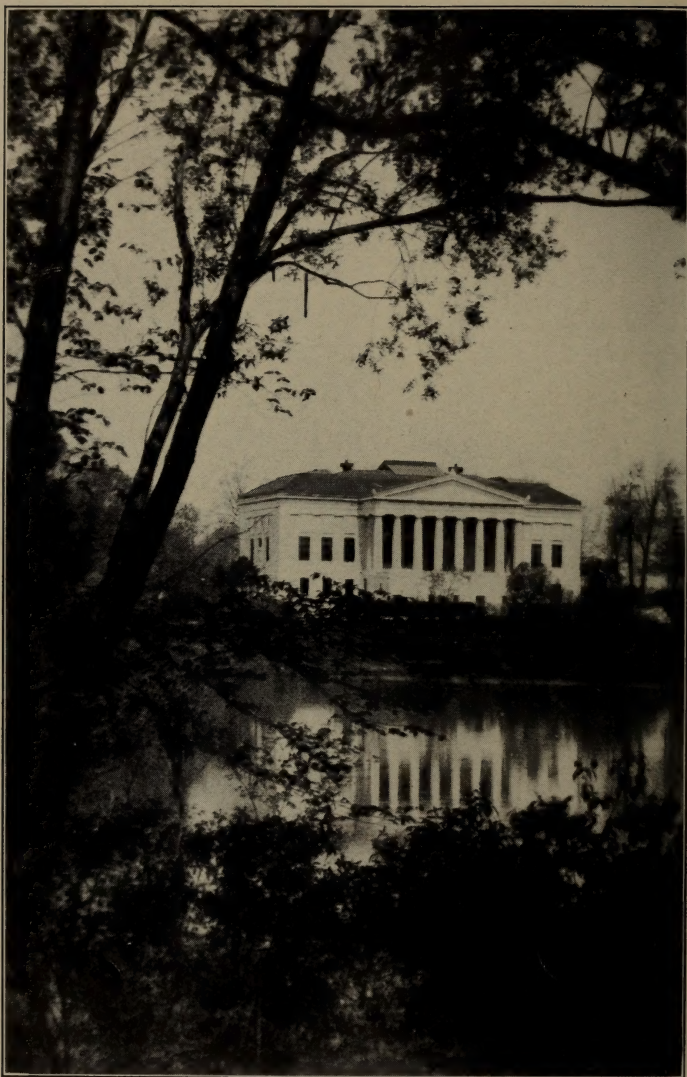


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BUFFALO
HISTORICAL SOCIETY
PUBLICATIONS

VOLUME EIGHTEEN

EDITED BY FRANK H. SEVERANCE



HOME OF THE BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

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PEACE EPISODES

ON THE NIAGARA

OTHER STUDIES AND REPORTS

BUFFALO, NEW YORK:
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1914

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1914

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* Deceased.

PREFACE

WHEN the leading group of papers in this volume was planned, the Great War had not begun, and many, especially those whose custom it is to observe anniversaries and to chronicle historic events, were looking forward to the close of the year 1914 with peculiar interest. Preparations were afoot for a world-wide observance of the centenary of peace between the two great English-speaking nations; and nowhere, did it seem, was the anniversary to be celebrated with more heartfelt appreciation of the blessings of peace, than by the peoples who dwell in neighborly friendship on either bank of the Niagara. But the unforeseen—for most of us—happened. At the close of the year 1914 not Peace, but War, engaged the attention of the world; and what observance there was took the form less of thanksgiving for peace of the past than of prayers for cessation of wars of the present.

Hence, while the original plan of including in this volume a carefully-compiled record of that celebration cannot be carried out, the several papers which appear in the following pages, devoted to various peace episodes of the Niagara, are offered as chapters of our regional history.

The first one traces the events of the Peace Conference of 1914, held in behalf of Mexico and her relations with the United States. Until there shall come, from Govern-

ment sources, an official report embracing the proceedings of the mediation conference, such an unofficial narrative as is here submitted may prove useful. The importance of the event, as an occurrence on the banks of the Niagara, is ample warrant for the inclusion of our record of it in these Publications.

The printing of Pastor Louis Bridel's emigration pamphlet, "*Le Pour et le Contre*," in its first English translation, is believed to be warranted both by its extreme rarity and by its character. With the curious map it forms an interesting item in the scanty list of original material relating to the Holland Land Company and its operations in Western New York.

The other papers in the collection call for no especial comment, but it is fitting to make acknowledgment of the courtesy and helpful interest shown by Mr. H. F. Du Puy of New York, to whom the editor is indebted for the translation of Bridel's book, and permission to publish it; to Mr. A. C. Goodyear of Buffalo, for the use of one of the manuscripts of Gen. Alexander Smyth; and to Mr. Joseph Elkin-ton, of Philadelphia, for his valuable sketch of the work of the Society of Friends among the Senecas of Western New York.

Attention is directed to the summary of local events incident to the celebration of the centenary of Perry's victory on Lake Erie, contained in President Hill's annual address.

F. H. S.

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THE
PEACE CONFERENCE
AT NIAGARA FALLS
IN 1914

THE PEACE CONFERENCE AT NIAGARA FALLS IN 1914

By FRANK H. SEVERANCE

For many months Mexico had been in turmoil. A seemingly endless revolution had arrayed against the Government or Federal forces, a steadily increasing army, known as the forces of the Constitutionalists. In the spring of 1914 the tide of war set stronger and stronger against President Huerta and the Federalists.

On April 9th, a launch of the United States gunboat *Dolphin*, carrying the paymaster and a small detachment of marines, put in at Tampico for gasoline. The Americans were in uniform, but not armed; their launch flew the American flag. Colonel Hinojosa, commanding a detachment of Mexican Federals, arrested the paymaster and his men, paraded them as prisoners through the streets, and held them for a time under detention.

Admiral Mayo, of the United States Navy, at once made vigorous protest to the Mexican authorities, with the result that the Americans were released, General Zaragoza expressed his regret, and President Huerta, in an official statement, apologized. Admiral Mayo, however, demanded of the Government at Tampico that a salute to the American flag be fired. On Saturday, April 18th, no salute having

yet been fired, the following statement¹ was issued from the White House:

General Huerta is still insisting upon doing something less than has been demanded, and something less than would constitute an acknowledgment that his representatives were entirely in the wrong in the indignities they have put upon the Government of the United States.

The President has determined that if General Huerta has not yielded by six o'clock on Sunday afternoon, he will take the matter to Congress on Monday.

The salute was not given within the specified time, nor was it ever given. President Wilson, on April 20th, laid the matter before Congress, which subsequently

Resolved, That the President is justified in the employment of the armed forces of the United States to enforce his demand for unequivocal amends for affronts and indignities committed against the United States. Be it further

Resolved, That the United States disclaim any hostility to the Mexican people or any purpose to make war upon them.

On April 21st, a force of United States marines landed at Vera Cruz and seized the custom-house. Several men were killed, and for some days serious engagements seemed imminent. Nelson O'Shaughnessy, the American *Chargé d'Affaires* at Mexico City, received his passports from President Huerta. O'Shaughnessy's dismissal, as translated and published, April 22d, was couched in the following terms:

Mr. Chargé d'Affaires: Assuredly your Honor knows that the marines of the American ships of war anchored

1. Up to the time when this paper was prepared for publication, the Government of the United States had issued no official account of the proceedings of the Niagara Peace Conference. The letters and other documents incorporated in this compilation, are therefore necessarily taken from contemporary publications; but care has been taken to have recourse only to sources which showed careful editing.

off the port of Vera Cruz, availing themselves of the circumstances that the Mexican authorities had given them access to the harbor and town because they considered their presence was of a friendly character, disembarked yesterday with their arms and uniforms and possessed themselves by surprise of the principal buildings, without giving time for the women and children in the streets, the sick and other non-combatants, to place themselves in safety.

This act was contrary to international usages. If these usages do not demand, as held by many states, a previous declaration of war, they impose at least the duty of not violating humane consideration or good faith by people whom the country which they are in has received as friends and who, therefore, should not take advantage of that circumstance to commit hostile acts.

These acts of armed forces of the United States I do not care to qualify in this note, out of deference to the fact that your Honor personally has observed toward the Mexican Government and people a most strictly correct conduct, so far as has been possible for you in your character as the representative of a Government with which we have been in such serious difficulties as those existing.

Regarding the initiation of war against Mexico this Ministry reserves to itself the right of presenting to other Powers the events and consideration pertinent to this matter, in order that they as members of the concert of nations may judge of the conduct of the two nations and adopt an attitude which they may deem proper in view of this deplorable outrage upon our nation's sovereignty.

The President of the Republic of Mexico has seen fit to terminate, as I have the honor to communicate to your Honor, the diplomatic mission which your Honor has until now discharged. You will have the goodness to retire from Mexican territory. To that end I enclose your passports, at the same time informing you that, as is the diplomatic custom on such occasions, a special train will be at your disposal with a guard sufficient to protect your Honor, your family, and your staff, although the Mexican people are

sufficiently civilized to respect, even without this protection, your Honor and those accompanying you.

I take this opportunity to reiterate to your Honor the assurances of my highest consideration.

The note was signed by José Lopez Portillo y Rojas, Minister of Foreign Affairs in President Huerta's Cabinet, and to American readers seemed to presage a declaration of war. The course of the Administration was by no means unanimously endorsed, even at Washington, and the country as a whole contemplated with no enthusiasm but much questioning and grave foreboding, the possibility of a war with Mexico.

At this juncture, when the blockade of Mexican ports, the bombardment of Mexican cities, and the invasion of her territory by United States troops, seemed to be the next step, an offer of mediation came like a ray of light through storm clouds. Three South American countries offered to undertake to find the way towards peace. The offer came from Brazil, Argentina and Chili. Brazil, a Portuguese country, had for long been a friend of the United States. Argentina and Chili were the two most progressive and powerful of the Spanish-American countries. These three friendly Powers, addressed the Government of the United States in the following form:

Mr. SECRETARY OF STATE:

With the purpose of subserving the interest of peace and civilization in all confidence and with the utmost desire to prevent any further bloodshed, to the purpose of the cordiality and union which have always surrounded the relations of the Governments and the people of America, we, the plenipotentiaries of Brazil, Argentina and Chili, duly authorized hereto, have the honor to tender to your Excellency's Government our good offices for the peaceful and friendly settlement of the conflict between the United

States and Mexico. This offer puts in due form the suggestions which we have had occasion to offer heretofore on this subject to the secretary to whom we renew the assurances of our highest and most distinguished consideration.

It was a new but welcome proposition, that South America should lead the way towards peace in North America. Without knowing the probable attitude of President Huerta in the matter, the United States Government gratefully accepted the offer of mediation. Under date of April 25th President Wilson responded as follows:

The Government of the United States is deeply confident of the friendliness, the good feeling and the generous concern for the peace and welfare of America manifested in the joint note just received from your Excellency, tendering the good offices of your Government to effect, if possible, a settlement of the present difficulty between the Government of the United States and those who claim to represent our sister republic of Mexico. Conscious of the purpose with which the proffer is made, this Government does not feel at liberty to decline it. Its chief interest is in the peace of America, the cordial intercourse of her republics and our people and the happiness and prosperity which can spring only out of frank mutual understanding of the friendship which is created by common purpose. The generous offer of your Governments is therefore accepted.

This Government hopes most earnestly that you may find those who speak for the soberer elements of the Mexican people willing and ready to discuss terms of satisfactory and therefore permanent settlement. If you should find them willing, this Government will be glad to take up with you for discussion in the frankest and most conciliatory spirit any proposals that may be authoritatively formulated, and will hope that they may prove feasible and prophetic of a new day of mutual coöperation and confidence in America.

This Government feels bound in candor to say, that the diplomatic relations with Mexico being for the present severed, it is not possible for it to make sure of an uninterrupted opportunity to carry out the plan of intermediation which you propose. It is, of course, possible that some act of aggression on the part of those who control the military forces of Mexico might oblige the United States to act to the upsetting of the hopes of immediate peace, but this does not justify us in hesitating to accept your generous suggestion. We shall hope for the best results within a brief time, enough to relieve our anxiety lest most ill-considered hostile demonstrations should interrupt negotiations and disappoint our hopes of peace.

The text of President Huerta's acceptance of the offer of the mediators was not made public. It was merely reported from Washington that Señor José Portillo y Rojas, Minister for Foreign Affairs in the Huerta Cabinet, had accepted the offer and thanked the South American plenipotentiaries, and the Spanish Minister, Señor Riano, for their good offices, with a reference to "the real spirit of solidarity between peoples of a same race." The message was sent to Minister Riano.

Two days later—April 29th—General Carranza announced his willingness to accept the principle of mediation as proposed by the A B C diplomats.

The mediators now formally asked the United States and General Huerta to agree to an armistice by which all aggressive military movements would be suspended, pending the outcome of the negotiations. To this General Huerta acceded, on April 30th.

Although President Huerta and the Government of the United States readily agreed to submit their differences to the mediators, it was different with the rebel leader, Carranza. He refused to suspend hostilities, and the civil war in Mexico went on. On his attitude towards President

Huerta, depended the limitation of the issues which the diplomats at Niagara had undertaken to settle. It was obvious that if Carranza refused to accept any armistice with Huerta, the work of the diplomats would be confined solely to settling the differences between the United States and Mexico. The pacification of Mexico, and the adjustment of her internal dissensions presented to the diplomats a more complex problem. Carranza accepted the offers of mediation in an ambiguous note which for the time being left them in doubt as to his real attitude.

For several days the mediators held meetings in Washington, usually at the Argentine legation. There were also conferences with Secretary Bryan. On May 2d the following announcement was made by the State Department:

The mediators have delivered to this Government and are sending out to General Huerta and General Carranza requests that representatives be appointed to confer with the mediators.

On May 4th the mediators informed Carranza that in view of his refusal to agree to an armistice with Huerta, they withdrew their invitation to him to send a personal representative to participate in the mediation negotiations.

Carranza's attitude was that he would consent to mediation only on the incidents which had brought about a controversy "between the United States and Mexico," holding that he was constitutionally chosen leader, to whom complaint about the Tampico and other incidents originally should have been made.

In reply, the mediators sent to General Carranza the following note, which was not made public until May 5th:

We have received your telegram in which you are kind enough to tell us that you deem it inconvenient for the Constitutionalist cause to suspend hostilities against General

Huerta on the ground that such suspension would only accrue to the benefit of Huerta, and in which you declare that the international conflict between Mexico and the United States for whose solution you accepted our good offices is independent of the internal strife in that country.

We consider this unexpected statement as inconsistent with the idea which caused us to offer our good offices. We think, indeed, that all the difficulties which have contributed toward the present situation in Mexico bear either directly or indirectly on the solution of the pending conflict between Mexico and the United States. Consequently, we think that these difficulties should be made the subject of consideration in the negotiations for whose successful conduct we have deemed it indispensable to suspend hostilities.

Should you not deem it so, we would be compelled in that case to withdraw as inopportune our invitation for the appointment of representatives of the Constitutionalists in such negotiations.

May 8th, Secretary Bryan made public a long formal communication from Rafael Zubaran, in behalf of General Carranza, declaring the friendly attitude of the Constitutionalists toward the United States. The document was regarded as significant, since it practically reversed the position announced by Carranza immediately after the occupation of Vera Cruz, when he resented the occupation as a violation of Mexican sovereignty. He now appeared to regard the American movement as directed solely against Huerta, and not against the Mexican people as a whole. It was the first official document known to have been received by the State Department from an official of the Carranza party.

It was recognized that the mediators could carry on their consultations only in neutral territory, in no wise party to the dispute. Montreal and Havana in turn were proclaimed by the press as the chosen city of conference; but on May 5th Secretary Bryan announced that the three

South American mediators would meet at Niagara Falls, Ont., on May 18th, to receive representatives of the parties to the controversy.

General Huerta was quoted as saying: "I instructed the Mexican delegates to the mediation conference at Niagara Falls, Canada, to oppose decisively any American demands which would lessen our national sovereignty. I stand at my post awaiting events, with a calm conscience, confident of the ultimate triumph of right."

It is not the aim of the present compilation to trace the progress of Mexican affairs save as they bore directly on, or were affected by, the work of the Niagara Peace Conference.

As above stated, this Conference had its origin with the diplomatic representatives at Washington of Argentina, Brazil and Chili, the accident of the alphabet furnishing a ready catch-phrase to the press which soon made these distinguished diplomats known to the public as "the A B C mediators." As above indicated, the respective Governments cordially endorsed the proposition of their ministers, as did President Wilson, who saw in the proposed peace negotiations a possible escape from the horrors and cost of a Mexican invasion.

Foremost among the mediators was Dr. Domicio da Gama, Ambassador of Brazil, first not only by reason of his diplomatic rank, but because of his ability and force of character. Dr. da Gama had first come to the United States in 1893 as secretary of the Brazilian commission for the arbitration between Brazil and Argentina, conducted by President Cleveland. He had subsequently served his country as *Chargé d'Affaires* in Belgium, as Minister to Peru and Argentina, and as Ambassador to Washington,

where he enjoyed the esteem of his colleagues and the confidence of the Administration.

The Minister of Argentina, Dr. Romulo S. Naon, was known as a man of high scholarship, and an expert in international law. In his own land, where he had served as Superintendent of Public Instruction, his proudest achievement had been the founding of a system of schools for laborers.

Don Eduardo Suarez, Minister of Chili, was also a man of wide and varied public experience, having served successively as Assistant Secretary of State, a member of the national legislature and Secretary of Justice and Public Instruction in his own country, and having been Minister to the United States for three years. He brought to the Conference an intimate knowledge of Mexico, where he served as Minister for a number of years.

To this, the first all-American peace conference, President Huerta, with a wisdom for which few had been disposed to give him credit, sent three of the ablest citizens of his country, two of them noted lawyers, one a wealthy financier. No one of them, it was announced, was engaged in politics, or had the slightest connection with any foreign concession. And no one of them had been closely identified with the Huerta Administration.

Señors Emilio Rabasa and Augustin Rodriguez were prominent lawyers and lecturers in the Free School of Law of Mexico, an institution not associated with the Government. The former was regarded as an expert on international law and author of the ablest Mexican work on that subject; the latter made a specialty of civic law. The third delegate, Señor Luis Elguero, was a wealthy financier, a director of the National Bank and the National Railways of Mexico, and a promoter of the Agrarian Bank, designed

to enable thrifty peons to become owners of their own farms. Accompanying the three delegates were also Rafael Elguero, brother of Luis; he was secretary for the delegation. A fifth member of the party was Señor Manuel Martinez del Campo, who was often spokesman for the Mexican envoys. Several of them brought their wives and daughters.

To represent the Government at Washington, President Wilson designated two delegates: Joseph Rucker Lamar, an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, a Democrat appointed to that high office by President Taft; and Frederick W. Lehmann, who had been Solicitor-General of the United States in the Administration of President Taft. Both of these men were favorably known to the American public. They were accompanied to Niagara by H. Percival Dodge, who there served as American diplomatic secretary.

Domicio da Gama, the Brazilian Ambassador, who was the ranking diplomat of the three mediatory Powers, and Romulo S. Naon, Minister for Argentina, reached Niagara Falls on May 18th.

On reaching the Clifton House, where the conference was to be held, Señor da Gama found awaiting the mediators the following message from the Duke of Connaught, Governor-General of Canada:

As Governor General, I welcome you on your arrival on Canadian soil and express my fervent hope that the efforts of yourself and your colleagues to preserve peace may meet with speedy and lasting success.

To this the Ambassador replied:

I earnestly thank your Royal Highness for your cordial words of welcome and your good wishes for the success of our work of international good will. We will be happy in

being able to associate the good results of our efforts with the name of the liberal and civilized country which under the guidance of your Royal Highness grows rapidly for the glory of the empire and the honor of our continent. I have the honor to present to your Royal Highness the expression of my profound respect.

DOMICIO DA GAMA,
The Ambassador of Brazil.

The mediators were also personally welcomed by the Hon. Martin Burrell, Dominion Minister of Agriculture, and Senator James A. Lougheed, the Conservative leader, who extended an official greeting in behalf of their Government.

Being solicited by the *Record-Herald* of Chicago for a statement of his views on the problems which awaited the attention of the mediators, the Brazilian Ambassador responded in French, of which the following is a translation:

There are three phases of mediation in general. Concerning the mediation now in progress especially a study should be made in diplomatic psychology:

(a) A wall of darkness with vague rays of hope, that hope which the wish creates, and in this case it grows out of the ardent desire that international American peace shall not be destroyed, but shall be maintained, if necessary, out of loyal consideration for the superior interests of civilization.

(b) Light, plans developing, resistance vanquished, difficulties surmounted, strong wills helping and encouraging each other, the time which passes and brings prestige, the admission of possibilities, and finally co-operation to produce a finished work of art. I should call it a work of the creative will.

(c) ——— ?

D. DA GAMA.

On May 18th General Huerta's representatives gave out the following statement, originally written in Spanish by Emilio Rabasa:

The discretion which the delicacy of their mission imposes, as an elementary consideration upon the Mexican delegates to the conference at Niagara Falls has prevented them from making any statements or declaration, but in their desire to meet the wishes of the press they beg to state that they have been most courteously treated by all authorities and officials of the United States, that they have received proofs of cordial sympathies from the representatives of various South American nations and that they go to Niagara Falls animated by the earnest hope that an honorable and satisfactory conclusion will be arrived at at the meetings to be held there.

At Niagara Falls, the representatives of the United States made their headquarters at the Prospect House, on the American side. The Mexican and South American envoys lodged at the Clifton House. Here, in the "sun-parlor" on an upper floor, overlooking the cataract, most of the deliberations of the Conference were held.

On May 19th, Dr. Don Gonzalo S. Cordova, Minister to the United States from Ecuador, arrived at Niagara, accompanied by his son. Not an accredited delegate to the Conference, it was announced that he came "merely to give a moral force and effect to the deliberations of the mediators and other accredited representatives at the mediation congress." By resolution all the Ministers at Washington had agreed to use their utmost endeavors in the future to have all disputes between the 21 American republics settled by arbitration or mediation.

"The representatives of the republics at Washington met the first Wednesday in this month," said Señor Cordova, "and applauded the offer of mediation by the repre-

sentatives of Argentina, Brazil and Chili. I offered the resolution, which was unanimously adopted. Many other of the Ministers would have offered their services, but they



AS SEEN BY THE DULUTH NEWS-TRIBUNE.

CURRENT CARTOONS ON THE PEACE CONFERENCE.

could not get the permission of their home Governments. Immediately after the three Ambassadors tendered their aid to the United States and Mexico the representatives of the other nations met and unanimously approved their action and offered to aid in any manner possible.

"The rules of the union do not permit the consideration of any political question, and in taking up the matter of the differences for consideration Huerta, Carranza and Villa were not personally considered. It was purely a national question," Señor Cordova stated. "We see no reason why all the international differences between the nations of America should not be thus settled if these mediators are successful in bringing peace to Mexico and settling the internal strife that has wrecked the business affairs of the country." ¹

During the sojourn of the mediators and delegates at Niagara Falls numerous courtesies in a social way were offered them. On May 19th the commissioners of Victoria Park gave a dinner to Señors Da Gama and Naon, attended by numerous civil and military officials. The day following, being the first Sunday after the arrival of the mediators, they with members of their families attended service at the near-by Carmelite church of Our Lady of Peace. The South American mediators, the Mexican and American delegates and several hundred other worshippers filled the church. Solemn mass was celebrated by the pastor, Rev. B. J. O'Neill, O. C. C., assisted by Rev. C. C. Kehoe and Rev. T. Vazza; after which the Rev. George J. Krim, S. J., of Buffalo, preached a sermon which was an eloquent plea for peace. It was an occasion the significance and aptness of which were not lost on the distinguished communicants.

The little church of Our Lady of Peace, formerly named St. Edward's, was erected in 1837 by Rev. Edwin Gordon. "During the Civil War the late Archbishop Lynch of Toronto, moved with sorrow at the loss of so many lives, and the prospect of so many souls going before God in

1. Interview in Buffalo *Evening News*, May 20th.

judgment, some it is to be feared, but ill prepared, and also at the sight of the beautiful rainbow that spanned the cataract, the sign of Peace between God and the sinner, suggested that prayers and religious exercises be offered here that the war would soon cease. The title of the church was then changed to Our Lady of Peace, and it was endowed by Pope Pius IX with all the privileges of a Pilgrimage Shrine where may be gained the indulgences attached to the oldest shrine in Europe."¹

After the service a reception was given to the South American guests, at the neighboring Hospice.

Worthy of note in this connection as illustrating the wide-spread interest in this Peace Conference, was the action of 400 members of the Society of Friends in New York City who on this same Sunday, discussed the gathering at Niagara Falls, and adopted a resolution which was telegraphed to Justice Lamar, expressing the hope that the Conference would result in lasting peace with Mexico.²

1. From report in the *Catholic Record*, London, Ont., June 6, 1914.

2. Still more notable was the action of the Lake Mohonk Conference on International Arbitration, which being in session in the latter part of May, authorized a special committee to prepare and send the following message:

MOHONK LAKE, N. Y., May 27, 1914.

His Excellency, Mr. D. DA GAMA, President of Mediation Conference, Niagara Falls, Ontario:

The Twentieth Annual Lake Mohonk Conference on International Arbitration now in session, sends its felicitations and greetings to the Envoys from Brazil, Argentina and Chili, and to the delegates from Mexico and the United States, now in session at Niagara Falls, Ontario.

For twenty years the Lake Mohonk Conference has steadily advocated international arbitration and mediation as a substitute for war. We rejoice that the good offices of three of our sister republics in South America have been tendered and accepted, and that your conference is now engaged in the earnest effort, with the good will and cooperation of other nations, to establish between Mexico and the United States an honorable and permanent peace. This auspicious event marks a new era of better understanding between the republics of the western hemisphere.

To your honorable commission we pledge our heartiest support and earnest wishes for the establishment of a precedent which will be a new milestone in the forward march of world peace and give a new impetus to the effort to stay war through conciliation and mediation; and we pray for the full realization of your high and holy mission.

This message was received and courteously acknowledged by Ambassador da Gama.

On the afternoon of May 22d the diplomats and members of their families were the guests of the New York State Park Commission, the three South American mediators waiving their avowed purpose of remaining in neutral territory. They were received at the administration building in the American park by Mr. H. K. Eckert, the superintendent, entertained at a luncheon, and given a ride on the *Maid of the Mist*, followed by a motor tour through the islands and along the shore. The park commissioners who met and entertained the guests were Charles M. Dow of Jamestown, W. B. Howland of New York City, Oliver Cabana of Buffalo, C. H. Atwood of Niagara Falls, T. W. Meacham of Syracuse, and George J. Meyer of Buffalo.

At a banquet, given May 22d by the Canadian Government to the peace envoys and the American and Mexican delegates, the Hon. Martin Burrell, the Dominion Minister of Agriculture, who presided, offered only one toast, "The King." It was apparent that if he had offered a toast to the President of the United States, he would in all courtesy have been obliged to toast the President of Mexico, which under the circumstances would have been far from tactful.¹

1. Not the least pleasant event in this connection was a luncheon given by the Niagara Falls (N. Y.) Board of Trade at the Prospect House to the newspaper correspondents. The three South American mediators chancing to enter the hotel, they were captured by the reporters, as later were the American delegates, and for an hour shared in the fun, one feature of which was the singing of a song to the popular air, "When it's Apple-Blossom Time in Normandy"; it was written by a reporter in a trolley-car on his way to the luncheon, his inspiration running in the following fashion:

When it's Mediation Time in Canada,
In Canada, in Canada,
By the good old Falls, we'll watch and wait,
And Mediate.
When it's Mediation Time in Canada,
We'll come here for a rest;
And we'll pay 10 cents to cross the Bridge,
Whether going East or West.

This cheerful fun over the methods of the Conference and the familiar tolls exacted at the Bridge, was rather outdone by the response of Justice Lamar when the "boys" insisted on a speech: "Before this Conference," said the Justice, "I had not believed it possible that bricks could be made without straw; but here I read the papers every morning and find that you can make them without straw—and very good bricks, too."

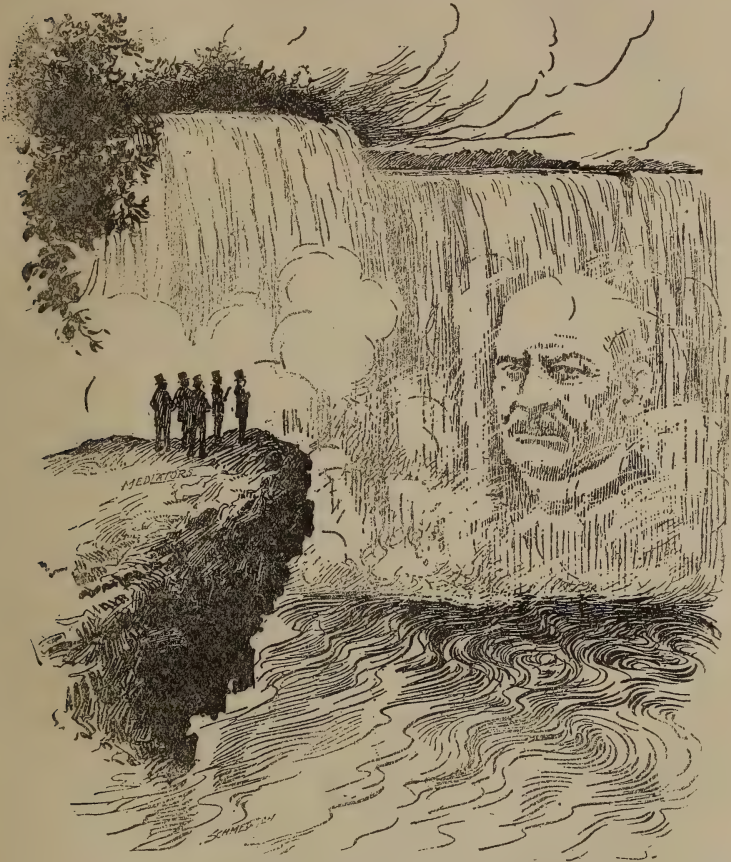
On May 27th the mediators and all delegates to the Conference went to Toronto by invitation, to attend a garden party given by the Duke and Duchess of Connaught and Sir John M. Gibson, Lieutenant Governor of Ontario, and Lady Gibson.

The American and foreign delegates settled down as for a prolonged stay. Special long-distance telephone communication was established between their respective headquarters on opposite sides of the river; one of the mediators engaged a motor car by the month; and there were other indications that none anticipated a short time for the completion of the undertaking.

Formal sessions of the conferees began May 20th, in the sun-parlor of the Clifton House, a large room on an upper floor, overlooking the splendid panorama of the falls. The South American envoys sat regularly at the head of a large table. On their right were the three Americans, on their left the three Mexicans, representing the Huerta provisional Government. The three Americans, as representatives of the Administration at Washington, were understood to favor the retirement of Huerta; they were also desirous of promoting any possible reforms in Mexico which would tend toward peace. The Mexican delegates naturally sought to make the most favorable terms possible for General Huerta. They knew when they came into the Conference that President Wilson favored the retirement of Huerta.

The first session, which was designated by the press as "the first real step toward bringing peace in Mexico," was regarded by the mediators as an informal conference. Organization was effected and credentials presented. It was remarked that they differed widely, the credentials of

the American delegates being of a very informal character. They possessed very limited power. Everything in the way of agreement by them to suggestions for a settlement was



THE MAN OF THE MIST.—*Chicago Record-Herald.*

CURRENT CARTOONS ON THE PEACE CONFERENCE.

to be *ad referendum*, that is, Justice Lamar and Mr. Lehmann must refer those suggestions from the mediators or the Mexican delegates to President Wilson through Secre-

tary Bryan for approval or advice. On the other hand, the credentials of the Mexican delegates gave them great discretionary functions, amounting practically if not entirely to plenary powers.

Minister Suarez of Chili did not arrive until the following day. Ambassador da Gama opened the session with the following words, especially addressed to the American delegates :

The mediators extend to you a sincere welcome and trust we shall not part until your hopes have been realized. Your hopes are undoubtedly the same which encouraged us to undertake this work of international sympathy, born of the ardent desire that the serene progress of civilization in America be not interrupted by the disastrous violence of a war between sister nations.

Many and varied are the thoughts which agitate our minds at this dramatic moment of our political life; but dominating all, as an imperative call of American sentiment, duty impels us not to spare any effort to recover and elucidate the causes of the Mexican conflict. It was with this end in view, and in order to ascertain the sources of the evil and provide a speedy remedy, that we invited you, gentlemen, to attend this Peace Conference, held in this hospitable and friendly land, which, although under the flag of a powerful European empire, entertains and stands for sentiments of the purest Americanism.

But as an ultimate and more important consequence than a mere solution of a contention between nations whose differences are not due to antagonistic results, we must throw such light upon this conference as will show it in history as an expression of the sentiments of that human solidarity which, not content with enjoying peace in solitude, seeks to extend its benefit to all. If we succeed in doing so, we shall have affirmed by a striking example the never-to-be-forgotten lesson that even in the midst of the turmoil of battle and the unchained tempest of hate and conflicting ambitions, above all this tumult, will be heard the clear and

persuasive voice of reason, counseling the sacrifice of persons in favor of the collective interest of the people, and spreading the gospel of peace and justice.

At the opening session the following method of procedure was adopted:

First—The plenipotentiaries of Brazil, Argentina and Chili will preside over the conference. The Brazilian Ambassador will direct the proceedings of the conferences.

Second—The minutes of the meeting will be signed by the representatives and the three mediators; they will be countersigned by the three secretaries of the mediators, and said minutes shall be drafted in English, Spanish and Portuguese and five copies thereof shall be made, namely, one copy for each of the representatives, and one copy for each of the mediators. The deliberations shall be secret.

Third—The full conference will be held, first for the expression of the views of the representatives, upon their request; second, for the presentation of basis of settlement; third, for their acceptance or rejection.

Fourth—The conferences will be closed by a full final session at which will be stated all the particular circumstances which were considered in arriving at the final result of the conference, whatever such result may be. In the event of a favorable solution being reached, the minutes of the last full session, at which said resolution was accepted, shall form the basis of the protocol or document to be signed.

Fifth—Closing addresses by the mediators and representatives, should they so desire.

Very early in the Conference word reached the mediators that the Mexican Constitutionalists proposed to send a representative to Niagara Falls. José Vasconcelos was for a day or two expected to appear on the scene as Carranza's representative. The mediators "unofficially" let it be known that while they were perfectly willing to meet him

in a "conversation," they could not admit him or any other Constitutionalist representative, to the Conference.

Government officials at Washington urged that the presence of a representative of the Constitutionlists would greatly assist in bringing about a solution of the Mexican question. On May 21st Secretary Bryan, John Lind and Charles A. Douglas, an attorney for the Constitutionlists, held a conference and Governor Lind met Señor Urquidi, the Constitutionalist confidential agent, at Washington. Later Señor Zubaran, a member of the Carranza cabinet, at that time in Washington, Señor Urquidi and Mr. Douglas had a long conference. With these and many subsequent counselings at the Capital, the conferees for the United States at Niagara Falls were kept advised. Throughout the whole Peace Conference Justice Lamar and his coadjutor kept close to the President and Secretary of State.

The first full formal meeting of the Conference was held May 23d, when the mediators and delegates were photographed, seated around their council table; but no report was given out as to the deliberations. The public was not slow to perceive that much of the information sent out day by day from Niagara Falls was no information at all. When one of the Mexican Constitutionlists slightly referred to the Conference as "mediation without representation," a correspondent for the *Outlook* suggested instead "mediation without information"; and pointed out that neither the South American nor United States representatives knew the conditions in Mexico during the prevalence of revolution and radicalism. Throughout the weeks of Conference far more rumor than fact was given to the public. One instance will illustrate.

At the close of deliberations, one day, Justice Lamar was met by the newspaper reporters, as he was leaving the Clifton House, and asked what had been done at the session.

"We have been discussing the first plank," was the reply; "there are no splinters in the plank, either."

With this entirely cryptic assertion the news writers had to be content. As was to be expected, each made his own interpretation, the amusing result being that of five New York City dailies whose representatives were at Niagara Falls, no two of them, the following morning, had like reports or drew similar conclusions. This sort of vague and indeterminate reporting made up the major part of what reached the public day by day through the press. It was no fault of the reporters, who much of the time were baffled and kept in the dark by the attitude of the representatives in the Conference.

Several days passed with no decisive development, so far as the public learned. Various conferences were held between the South American mediators and the representatives of the United States, to which the Mexican delegates were not admitted. The possibility of Constitutionalist participation was discussed privately by many of the principals to the Conference. It was stated, seemingly with authority, that the view held by the mediators at this time was, that the most feasible way of solving the Mexican problem was to secure a bi-partite agreement between the Huerta government and the United States, reserving efforts to secure acceptance of the program by the Constitutionlists. This was known to meet the approval of the Mexican delegates who, in reply to inquiries from the press, issued the following statement:

In answer to the question addressed to the Mexican delegation, asking what its attitude would be toward the repre-

sentatives which it is said the rebel party will send to the Conference at present being held here, said delegation begs to state it has received no official notice to the effect that the above-named party is sending delegates; that should such delegates come, it does not know with what character they would do so and that it is, therefore, impossible for the Mexican delegation to emit an opinion on this matter.

In any case, the Mexican delegation considers that the matter is one for the study of the mediating plenipotentiaries and that it would only be justified in taking it up after these gentlemen have duly considered it. In this last case the Mexican delegation would consult its Government before coming to any decision.

On May 24th the announcement came from Washington that the Constitutionlists had decided to send no representatives, formal or informal, to the Niagara Conference. The mediators saw that this decision meant that Carranza, the Constitutionalist leader, declined to be bound in any way to accept the conclusions of the Conference. It was reasonably sure, however, that the work of the mediators would not be ignored by him.

While it was understood that, as the days passed, the opposing delegates were coming into closer accord, it was also understood that one obstacle blocking the way was the land question. The Mexican delegates firmly declared that it was untrue that the feudal system of Mexico was the single or indeed the chief cause of their oft-recurring revolutions. They held that personal ambition had played a much more important part.

"It is idle," said one of them,¹ "to talk of a wholesale subdivision of estates for the benefit of an ignorant and improvident class, lacking both energy and thrift, to profit by such a humanitarian scheme." They denied that the agrarian problem lay at all within the field of mediation,

1. Associated Press interview, May 25th.

but was to be dealt with by the legislative body of Mexico. "And," they said, "even if we should engage to adopt some form of reformatory plan, what assurance is it possible to give that the plan will be faithfully and persistently carried out by a Constitutional Government such as we all have in contemplation?"

The three South American mediators took the ground that they were essentially counsellors and not dictators of the destinies of the Republic of Mexico; and that with the Mexican delegates themselves must originate proposals concerning the internal affairs of their country. It was for the Mexicans to transmit these proposals to the Peace Conference in a form admitting of consideration.

Commenting on the Peace Conference, in its relation to the Mexican land problem, the *Buffalo Express* said: "The agrarian question as a justification for the Administration's attitude toward Mexico might have more force if it were not so obviously an after-thought—a development from a series of untenable positions. At the moment, the agrarian question is represented by Administration spokesmen as the great cause, not only of the present revolution, but of all other revolutions in Mexico, and its solution is declared to be a necessary basis for any permanent peace in Mexico." It quoted from President Wilson's speeches to show that, a few months before, he had not regarded the agrarian problem as paramount in Mexico, but had specified the settlement of other matters as pre-requisite to peace: the immediate cessation of fighting, the proclamation and observance of an armistice, guaranty of an early and fair election, the pledge of General Huerta not to be a candidate for reëlection as President, and the agreement of all parties to abide by the result of the election. "If," commented the *Express*, "the President today would be satisfied

with the conditions which he laid down as the essential foundation of a settlement on August 27th last, the work of the mediators at Niagara Falls would be easy, so far as the United States and the Government at Mexico City are concerned. The difficulty would lie only in persuading the Constitutionalists to accept the armistice, take part in the election and abide by the result." ¹

The appearance at Niagara Falls, May 25th, of two Constitutionalist leaders, spurred public interest. They were Cecilio Ocion, who had been charged with complicity in the murder of President Madero, and Luis F. Requena, who in 1912 had been a candidate for vice-president on the ticket with General Felix Diaz. Diaz at this time was in Toronto, where these men had been in conference with him. At Niagara Falls they also conferred with the Mexican delegates, but regarding the meeting no statement was made public. Rumor had it that they were advocating General Felix Diaz as suitable for provisional President.

By May 28th, the peace plans had so far advanced that unofficial announcement was made of their principal features. It had been agreed, so it was announced through the press, that for the pacification of Mexico a provisional government should be established immediately. Huerta was to go, and a "junta" of five, composed of men acceptable to all parties in Mexico, was to succeed him. This junta was to administer the Federal Government for Mexico, with due regard for any exceptions to be noted for the various states of that republic. A general election was later to be called and fairly conducted. The President then elected should serve until 1916, filling out the unexpired term of Francisco Madero. This programme in substance, was understood to

1. *Buffalo Express*, May 28th.

have been approved at Washington. The correspondent of the New York *Tribune* informed his paper that "Huerta will designate as permanent Secretary of State the man chosen by the Peace Conference. Huerta will then resign, leaving the man so chosen acting President. He in turn will appoint as members of his Cabinet four others, also designated by the Conference, and the five will constitute the provisional government, determining all questions of importance by a majority vote. The installation of the provisional President and the swearing in of the four Cabinet members, who with him will constitute a junta or commission, will be followed immediately by the withdrawal of the American forces from Vera Cruz."

The major issues being now before President Wilson and General Huerta, their early approval was looked for. It was announced that a protocol covering the basic principles would be signed, whereupon the Conference at Niagara Falls could close, the delegates return to their homes and the mediators complete the details of the undertaking in conjunction with the authorities at Washington and Mexico City.

This work, it was thought, would require some months. It was expected that the responsibility for dealing with the Constitutionalist element would be thrown upon the United States.

A curious feature of the negotiations at this stage was that the matter which led the A B C envoys to offer their good offices for an amicable settlement of the differences between the Huerta Administration and the United States was lost sight of. This was the demand of the United States that the Huerta Government fire a national salute to the American flag and punish the subordinate officer of the Federal army who arrested Assistant Paymaster Copp and

enlisted men of the *Dolphin* at Tampico. Practically no attention was paid to what was regarded at the time of the offer of the South American diplomats as one of the most pressing questions to be discussed.

At the request of Justice Lamar and Mr. Lehmann, the three A B C mediators agreed, May 29th, to receive a communication from General Carranza, First Chief of the Constitutionalists, asking that his faction be permitted to participate in the Conference. The mediators took the matter under advisement and later let it be understood that if a Carranza delegate were admitted to the Conference it would be on condition that he should not offer suggestions that would make for delay in the settlement.

The only official statement made regarding the visit of the Carranza agent was the following bulletin:

The mediators have received a communication from the representatives of Gen. Carranza in Washington, the tenor of which differs entirely from the version contained in a news dispatch this morning from Durango, and does not disturb the course of the negotiations.

General Carranza's communication was presented by Juan Francisco Urquidi, brother of Manuel Urquidi, who was sub-Secretary of Communications under the late President Madero. It had been telegraphed by General Carranza from Durango to Washington, and was brought to the Falls by Señor Urquidi. The mediators were known to be indisposed to permit Constitutionalist participation in their deliberations at this late day, and would have given no consideration to General Carranza's requests if the American delegates had not asked them to do so. Before any answer was given to Señor Urquidi, the Mexican peace delegates, Señors Rabasa, Elguero, and Rodriguez, asked General Huerta for instructions as to what their course should be

if the mediators should give favorable consideration to the rebel application.

The Mexican delegates were opposed to such action, and neither they nor their Government would agree that a Constitutionalist delegate be admitted to the Conference unless he had full authority to arrange a plan for the adjustment of Mexico's troubles.

No reference was made in General Carranza's telegraphic note as to the character of the credentials that would be given to his delegate if he were admitted to the peace parleys. A simple request for the participation of a representative of General Carranza was all that the note contained. No credentials or explanatory statement accompanied it. It was understood, however, that the note followed in most respects the lines of the following message, published from Durango, as a reported dispatch through the junta at Washington to the A B C envoys:

Six days ago conferences began to treat the international conflict between the United States and Mexico occasioned by the arrest of several American sailors by soldiers of Huerta at Tampico. To solve this conflict you offered to the Government of the United States, to Huerta, and to me your good offices, inviting me to appoint delegates who would represent the general headquarters of the Constitutionalist army, which is under my orders.

I answered you that in principle I would accept your good offices and later in a separate message I asked the points which would be dealt with in the Peace Conference. Awaiting an answer to that dispatch I have not named delegates.

I am surprised that you have continued to treat for a solution of the conflict between the United States and Mexico without representations from the Constitutionalist army, which is under my orders and represents that majority of the present and the largest armed force of the Republic.

For this reason I state to you that I believe the conflict between the United States and Mexico ought not to be solved in future conferences unless in these conferences there is represented the general headquarters of the Constitutionalist army.

The appearance of Señor Urquidi with such a request was particularly embarrassing to the mediators. They had succeeded so well in their effort to bring the American and the Mexican Governments into accord that a plan of pacification had been agreed to, and had reached President Wilson and President Huerta for consideration. The mediators were hopeful that it would be approved by both Governments within the next few days. This approval would have meant that the rest of the Conference would be devoted merely to drafting the points of agreement set forth in the pacification plan, and the signing of a peace protocol.

There is reason to believe that the mediators had determined not to receive the communication carried by Señor Urquidi, and were only persuaded to modify that attitude by the request of the American delegates, who are supposed to have acted under instructions from Secretary Bryan. It became understood that the American Government believed that if a Carranza representative were admitted to the Conference an excellent opportunity would be presented to obtain the amicable assent of General Carranza to the peace plan already agreed upon.

Difficulty might be experienced, it was urged in defense of the Washington Administration's attitude, if the Constitutionalist were not consulted in regard to the terms for Mexican pacification until after they had been indorsed formally by the United States and the Mexican Governments. In signing the peace protocol, the United States delegates would commit President Wilson to give moral support to the new commission Government which the

peace plan proposed to establish in Mexico City. In this case moral support would be equivalent to action that would prevent the Constitutionalists from overthrowing the new Government.

Señor Urquidi's reception by the mediators was interesting. After applying to Ambassador da Gama for a hearing on his arrival in the morning at the Clifton House, and receiving word that Señor da Gama was busy, Señor Urquidi started away. He was overtaken by a messenger from the mediators, however, and told to return to the hotel at 5 o'clock. In the interim he saw the American delegates. At 4 o'clock the American delegates called on the mediators by appointment to discuss the Carranza application and other matters. They were with the mediators up to 5 o'clock, when Señor Urquidi was scheduled to appear. At 5.05 the mediators sent out a messenger to find him. He was located in the hotel telegraph office, engaged in a telephone conversation with his associates in Washington. Señor Urquidi begged for fifteen minutes' grace. The mediators granted it, but he did not appear at their rooms until 5.40 o'clock. He was then received by Ambassador da Gama as the senior mediator. The conversation between them lasted about two minutes. The time was taken up by an expression of appreciation by Señor Urquidi for the kindness of the Ambassador in receiving him. Señor Urquidi left the Carranza notes in Señor da Gama's hands and went away, returning to Washington the next day.

Señor Urquidi was a young man, short of stature, who moved with nervous quickness and had a pair of bright, alert eyes. When he appeared at the Clifton House he was promptly surrounded by a group of reporters, whom he told that he was nothing more than a messenger of General

Carranza, having come to Niagara merely to bring a communication sent by his chief to the A B C mediators through Señor Zubaran, chief Carranzista agent at Washington.

"It is simply a statement of facts," said Señor Urquidi, "and a definition of Carranza's position in the present situation. His position is in no way different from that which he has assumed all along."

When asked if General Carranza wished to be represented at the Peace Conference and whether he would abide by its result, Señor Urquidi said that Carranza was quite willing to send a representative to Niagara, but that he would not admit the right of the Conference to determine anything except the international problems then confronting Mexico. The form of government to be set up in Mexico came under the head of an internal problem, and as such must be decided by the Mexicans themselves, without interference from outsiders.

Among numerous reports made public at this time was one from Mexico City, where the newspaper *El Imparcial* printed a report, purporting to come from Washington, to the effect that President Wilson had ordered his delegates at Niagara Falls to notify the Mexican representatives that if the peace negotiations failed Mexico would be invaded by the American Army and that the army would remain until the country was completely pacified!

On May 3d the mediators had sent the following message to General Carranza, then at Chihuahua, withdrawing their invitation to him to send delegates because of his refusal to declare an armistice:

We have received your courteous telegraphic message of yesterday in which you inform us that you deem it inadvisable for the Constitutionalist cause to suspend hostilities against General Huerta because such suspension would

benefit the latter only, and in which you state that the international conflict between Mexico and the United States, for the solution of which you accepted our good offices, is independent of the internal strife in that country.

We consider this unexpected declaration incompatible with the purposes which prompted our tender of good offices. We believed as a matter of fact that all difficulties which have contributed to bring about the present situation of Mexico directly or indirectly affect the solution of the conflict pending between Mexico and the United States; and, consequently, we understand that they must be made the subject matter of consideration in the settlement negotiations for the full success of which we have deemed the suspension of hostilities to be indispensable.

If you should not so understand, we would be compelled to withdraw our invitation to appoint representatives of the Constitutionalist party to attend these negotiations. We greet you with all our consideration.

No reply to this telegram was made by General Carranza, but on May 28th he protested through Rafael Zubaran, his Washington representative, against the Mexican conflict being made the subject of negotiations in the absence of representatives of the Constitutionlists. This letter, delivered to the mediators at Niagara Falls, follows:

The undersigned, the special representative of the First Chief of the Constitutionalist Government of Mexico, Venustiano Carranza, following express instructions, has the honor to communicate to your Excellency, the Ambassador of Brazil, and your Excellencies, the Ministers of Chili and Argentina, the following:

Prompted by a noble desire to solve in an amicable and peaceful manner the conflict pending between the United States and the Mexican nation, your Excellencies addressed the Government of the United States, General Huerta and the First Chief of the Constitutionalist army, tendering your good offices and inviting each of the interested parties to

appoint representatives for the purpose of discussing the details of the negotiations.

The chief of the Constitutionalist Government, greatly appreciating the good wishes and sympathy of the sister republics of the American continent, accepted the tender in principle and owing to the complicated character of the situation in Mexico, he deemed it necessary to request your Excellencies to define the scope of the proposed mediation, to the end that he may appoint duly authorized representatives.

Without having received a specific reply to this inquiry, the chief of the Constitutionalist Government was notified that if hostilities against Huerta were not suspended—which proposed suspension he deemed to be inconsistent with his duties to the people of Mexico—your Excellencies would be compelled to withdraw as inofficious the invitation to him to appoint representatives.

He is now informed that the mediation conferences have been taking place for some time, with representatives of the Huerta Government participating in the deliberations, and he regrets that efforts should have been made and continue to be made to solve the conflict between the United States and Mexico, without taking into consideration the fact that the Constitutionalist cause which he represents has the support of a majority of the inhabitants of Mexico and has the largest armed force within the Republic; and that these forces, acting under his command, have been able to recover from the power of Huerta since the initiation of the mediation the cities of Monterey, Tampico and Saltillo, with the adjoining territory and the territory of Tepic.

Under these circumstances, the chief of the Constitutionalist Government finds himself compelled to state to your Excellencies with all the respect and consideration due your high offices, that he considers that said conflict should not be the subject of negotiations at the mediation conferences, in the absence of representatives of the first chief of the Constitutionalist army.

The mediators on June 2d replied to the foregoing communication in the following terms:

We have had the pleasure of receiving your courteous communication of the 28th of May last, which we have noted very carefully.

We must in the first place acknowledge the recognition by the First Chief of the Constitutionalist army of the wishes and sympathies which prompted the tender of our good offices toward the settlement of the conflict pending between Mexico and the United States, a tender inspired by the declared purpose of "furthering the interests of peace and civilization on our continent and the earnest desire of avoiding further bloodshed, to the impairment of the cordiality and union which have always governed the development of the relations of the Governments and peoples of America." In carrying out these purposes, we could not but welcome the advent to our conferences of the representatives of all parties concerned, provided they agree to submit to the consideration and determination of the mediators the differences which now divide them, in order that a peaceful settlement thereof may be sought in an atmosphere of tranquility and conciliation.

Hence, it would be a source of great satisfaction to us if we know we are authorized to interpret the suggestion in the last paragraph but one of your communication as an expression on the part of the First Chief of the Constitutionalist army of that spirit of compromise which in our judgment should prevail at the conferences of the mediation, and as an adhesion to the terms set forth in our last telegraphic communication of the third of May last.

If this were so, we would take the liberty of suggesting through you to the First Chief of the Constitutionalist army that he hasten the appointment of his representatives to the conferences in which we are now engaged.

From June 2d to 5th no meetings of the Conference were held, pending the acceptance by the Mexican Government of the pacification plan as prepared by the American and Mexican delegates at Niagara Falls. Then arose a new danger to the negotiations. As a result of the sailing of the

steamer *Antilla* from Brooklyn with a shipment of arms for the Constitutionals the representatives of the Huerta Government telegraphed the provisional President on the subject. In the view of the Mexican delegates this was a violation of the agreement between the United States and Mexican Governments to preserve the military *status quo* pending the outcome of the mediation negotiations.

The mediators, however, took a position of absolute neutrality. They made no protest to the Washington Government; but contended that the question concerned the American and Mexican Governments, altogether apart from the mediation undertaking.

The sailing of the *Antilla* for Tampico without opposition by the United States Government accentuated the uneasiness of the Mexican delegates over the delay in negotiations. Nine days had elapsed since the American and Mexican delegates reached an agreement on general outlines of a plan of pacification and forwarded it to their respective Governments. Huerta had accepted the plan in principle and also in the terms of the outline, but no word came from Washington as to the attitude of the Wilson Administration. The mediators, however, understood that the President was sincerely anxious that normal conditions should be reëstablished in Mexico, and that if he did not succeed in bringing Carranza to agree to the terms of settlement, he would adopt his own course to carry out the peace programme.

The existing status of negotiations was as follows:

First—The A B C mediators decided to send a polite note to General Carranza, supreme chief of the Constitutionalist movement, stating that Constitutionalist representation in the peace negotiations would be welcomed, and that if General Carranza desired participation it would be

granted on the same terms as those upon which the United States and the Mexican Governments were participating in the Conference. The first of these conditions was to be a suspension of hostilities—to which General Carranza had said he would not agree.

Second—The Mexican Government accepted in principle the pacification plan as agreed to by the American and Mexican delegates at Niagara Falls, but suggested certain modifications that did not, however, disturb the fundamental programme outlined.

Third—The Mexican delegates issued a statement saying that General Huerta was prepared to withdraw from the head of Mexican affairs when his country was “politically pacified.” The statement defended the action of the American and Mexican delegates in treating of the “interior pacification” of Mexico, without which, it was declared, no satisfactory conclusion of the international question involved could be reached.

The invitation to General Carranza to participate in the Conference was dispatched on the evening of June 2d, to Señor Zubaran, the Constitutionalist agent at Washington through whom Carranza had communicated his note a few days before, suggesting that the Constitutionalist be permitted to share in the Peace Conference. In their communication the mediators made it clear that the terms upon which Constitutionalist representation would be welcome were, a declaration of an armistice by General Carranza in behalf of the revolutionary forces, and an acceptance in principle of the programme submitted to the United States and Huerta Governments.

The mediators held that there must be no retrogression in the negotiations, and that the Constitutionalist, if they decided to share in the conference, must make representa-

tions on the basis of the pacification programme, already determined, and not attempt to bring forward an entirely new programme for the adjustment of Mexico's troubles.

On the other hand, the American delegates had sought to have the Constitutionals admitted without conditions, but this the mediators felt unable to grant. They held that the Constitutionals would gain an unfair advantage if they became a party to the negotiations without suspending hostilities against the Federals.

It was the opinion of the mediators that should the Constitutionals, in accepting the invitation to participate, be privileged to offer a new plan of settlement, there would be great delay, and all the previous work of the mediators and the delegates of the United States and Mexico might count for nothing. It was plain, moreover, that the Huerta delegates would withdraw from the Conference if the Constitutionals were allowed to enter without any agreement to suspend hostilities. The Mexican delegates, however, agreed to remain in the Conference if representatives of Carranza were admitted on the same terms as themselves.

The A B C diplomats very wisely decided not to be forced into the attitude of dictators, and continued their discussions with the American and Mexican delegates as if the Constitutionalist flurry had not arisen. They held that the agreements reached by the delegates did not involve the mediators or their Governments, and that they could not be accused with any fairness of having attempted to determine how Mexico should be governed. It was asserted in behalf of the mediators that the pacification agreement entered into by the American and Mexican delegates was not a contract in which the mediators or their Governments participated, except in the exercise of friendly offices to bring the two contending parties into harmony. As evidence

of this attitude on the part of the mediators, attention was called to the fact that they declined to adopt the suggestion that they should select one member of the proposed governing junta of three persons. Such a selection, the mediators said, was outside of their authority. They insisted that the choice of the members of the provisional Government must rest with the Mexican and American Governments.

Had General Carranza consented to send representatives to participate under the conditions laid down by the mediators, he would have been obliged to agree in principle to the following terms, in addition to ordering a suspension of hostilities :

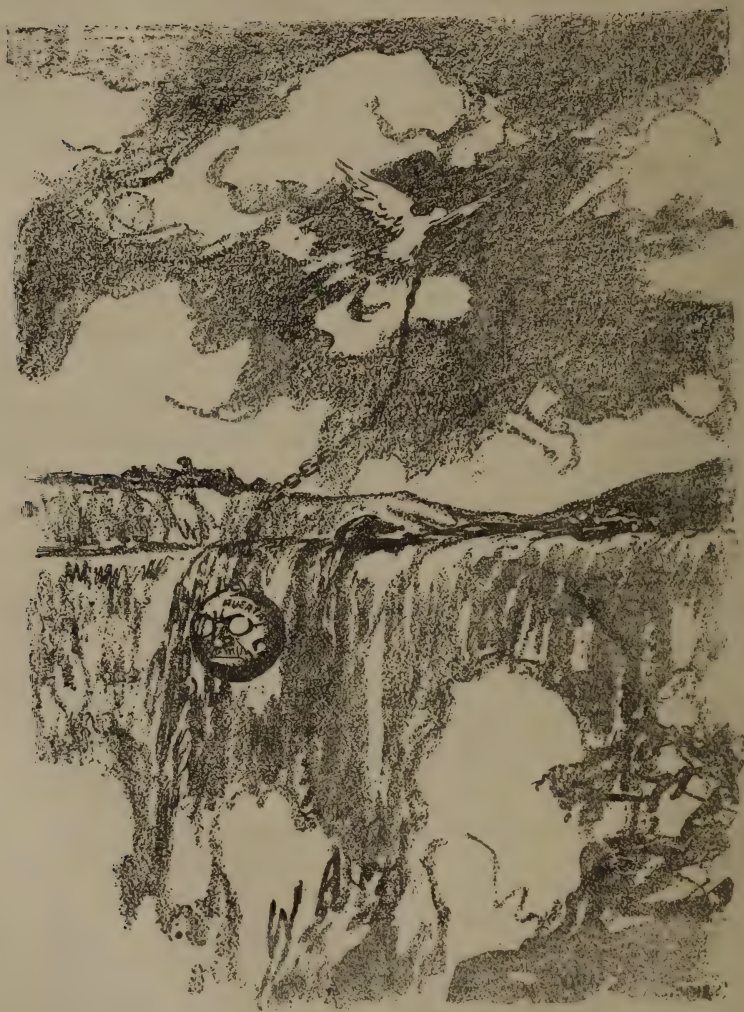
First—The installation of a commission government of five members, the chairman of which would have the title but not the authority of Provisional President of Mexico, this commission to serve until elections had taken place and a permanent constitutional Government was installed.

Second—Adherence to a declaration that the agrarian question should be studied with a view to reform through legislation.

The recognition of the provisional Government by the United States and the withdrawal of the American forces from Vera Cruz would also have been features of such a programme.

On June 2d the Mexican delegates issued the following statement :

In accordance with the instructions which the Mexican delegation has had since the beginning of the peace negotiations its members declared at the first full conference, that is to say, in the presence of the mediating plenipotentiaries and of the delegates of the United States of America, that President Huerta's personality is not an obstacle to the reaching of a satisfactory conclusion.



THE HANDICAP.—*New York Sun.*
CURRENT CARTOONS ON THE PEACE CONFERENCE.

General Huerta is prepared to withdraw from the Government on condition that, at the time of his withdrawal, Mexico shall be politically pacified and the Government succeeding his shall be such as to count on the acquiescence of the governed and on the support of public opinion, which constitute the real basis for peace and stability in any country.

It has been and is President Huerta's wish to place on record that neither mistaken pride nor personal interest will prevent his withdrawal, once the above-named conditions are satisfied.

The Mexican Government accepted the mediation of the South American Powers, Argentina, Brazil and Chili, in a frank and open spirit, and the Mexican delegation has been guided and will be guided in all its acts by perfect good faith.

It should be unnecessary to say that President Huerta gave the Mexican delegation special instructions not to consent to anything which could hurt the sovereignty of the Mexican nation and to refuse a hearing in the deliberations of the Conference to anything which might be construed as an imposition from the outside. For their own part, the delegates would not have accepted instructions of a different nature on these points, but they beg to state that hitherto they have no occasion to refer to them, thanks to the exquisite tact of the mediation plenipotentiaries and to the circumspection of the American delegates.

To treat of the interior pacification of Mexico in the course of deliberations on difficulties of an international character cannot be considered as submitting the sovereignty of the nation to an external influence; said pacification is necessarily bound up with the international questions. This has been appreciated by the Mexican delegation in setting forth the intentions of its Government in the matter; and in its endeavors to bring about pacification it has been inspired by the knowledge that without it no satisfactory conclusion can be arrived at in the international questions.

This formal statement had evidently a three-fold pur-

pose: To pave the way for an announcement that General Huerta had agreed to retire in favor of the proposed provisional authority; to absolve the mediators from the charge that they were trying to settle Mexican internal affairs; and to answer the criticism, attributed to General Carranza, that the Peace Conference had no warrant for making an agreement having to do with the domestic affairs of Mexico.

Some surprise was occasioned by Huerta's assent to the plan which removed him from office. It had been thought that he would at least withhold his approval until the views of the United States were made known.

After issuing their statement the Mexican delegates asked General Huerta, by telegraph, to send at once the names of men who would be satisfactory to him for places in the new provisional Government, which, it was proposed, should consist of two men chosen by Huerta, two chosen by the Constitutionals and a neutral provisional President, selected by common agreement of all parties. The first four were to compose the Cabinet, but were to be morally obligated by the terms of the agreement reached at Niagara Falls to share equally the responsibility of a fair administration, which would be expected not only to conduct a general election but also to make a beginning on land, educational and other internal reforms.

The explicit statement from the Huerta delegates encouraged the three diplomats greatly, in that it set before the world as practically accomplished one of the principal points in the dispute between the United States and the Huerta Government, namely, the elimination of the Dictator.

The stress of diplomatic duties and responsibilities was temporarily relieved, at this time, by a dinner given at the Clifton House, on the evening of June 2d, by the Canadian

Club of Niagara Falls in honor of the visiting A B C mediators and the American and Mexican delegates to the Peace Conference; Señor da Gama, Ambassador of Brazil and the presiding officer of the mediation board, receiving a rousing reception when he rose to speak. The diners and many ladies who were present cheered, waved handkerchiefs, and sang "For he's a jolly good fellow."

The Brazilian Ambassador made a brief speech, expressing the appreciation of his colleagues and himself for the hospitable treatment they had received in Canada. Others who spoke were Frederick W. Lehmann for the American delegation, Señor Terrasas y Algara, former *Chargé d'Affaires* of Mexico in Washington, for the Mexican delegates, and Sir John M. Gibson, Lieutenant Governor of Ontario, for the Canadian Government. E. R. Dewart, president of the club, presided. When a cordial message from King George, in response to birthday greetings from the club was read, the company sang "God Save the King."

Mediation now waited on Carranza. The way had been opened to him for representation in the Peace Conference. The A B C mediators, in a dignified way, had cleared the path for him. The United States Government desired him to accept. All parties desired the Constitutionalist to participate in the negotiations in a spirit of conciliation.

On June 4th, word came from Carranza that he would not answer the communication of the mediators until his plan of campaign had brought him to Saltillo; but the following unofficial statement, telegraphed from Durango, his headquarters, was said to set forth the views of the Constitutionalist leader:

"Hamlet with Hamlet left out," is the way many of the Constitutionalist leaders here expressed themselves regard-

ing the conferences at Niagara Falls. That a plan can be found to settle interior affairs in Mexico without the participation of the Constitutionalist Government is regarded by them as impossible. They point out that the only party directly interested in Mexico which has been represented in the formation of the Niagara Falls plan has been that of Huerta. This party, defeated by the Constitutionalists at every point, is in the throes of dissolution and is in no condition to fulfil any pledges that might be made. The Constitutionalists have declared repeatedly that the sole solution of the internal difficulties of the country was the elimination of Huerta and his party from politics.

The Constitutionalists emphasize the fact that they will recognize only a government established under the plan of Guadalupe¹ at the triumph of the Revolution. By this time the commander-in-chief of the Constitutionalist party will be provisional President of Mexico, while elections are being verified and constitutional order is restored.

In a word, the Constitutionalists think it would be well for the Commission to acquaint themselves with the facts before committing themselves to a programme which there is no possibility of their carrying out.

For some days the work of the Peace Conference was practically at a standstill. Some work no doubt was done, but there was no general meeting of the mediators and delegates. The general attitude was one of mingled doubt and hope. Meanwhile, General Huerta's announced determination to blockade the port of Tampico threatened a final disruption of mediation proceedings. Many messages in cipher passed between the Mexican delegates at Niagara Falls and Mexico City. The crisis was averted, for the moment, when on June 8th President Huerta rescinded the

1. The "Plan of Guadalupe" was a revolutionary programme arranged by Constitutionalist military leaders. It provided that when Mexico City had been taken by the Constitutionalist forces, General Carranza should be installed as provisional President of the republic.

order to blockade Tampico. This order was supposed to be due to representations which reached him from Niagara Falls, and restored hope in the success of mediation.

The United States Government, through Justice Lamar and Mr. Lehmann, on June 8th, submitted to the mediators a complete plan for the pacification of Mexico. Similar in principle to that already agreed to by the Huerta Government, it contemplated the early establishment of a new provisional Government in the City of Mexico, which would conduct general elections for a permanent Government.

All parties to the Conference appeared to take an optimistic view of the situation at this juncture; although no official assurance was given out that the Constitutionalists were any nearer agreement with the mediators as to the declaration of an armistice. The Mexican delegation to the Conference now for the first time made public a portion of their note to the mediators, which had brought about the request to the American Government for a declaration of its interpretation of the armistice and its relation to the *Antilla* shipment of arms to the Constitutionalists. This statement, which the Huerta representatives at Niagara Falls asked the press to publish complete and without paraphrase, was as follows:

According to news published in the press, an hour after the *Antilla* had been cleared without difficulty by the fiscal authorities of New York, said authorities received the general order issued by the Washington Government forbidding the shipment of arms to Mexican ports. This order shows that it is the intention of said Government to show no preference for either of the combatants in Mexico, and it is natural to suppose that, in the same spirit, it will consider it opportune to give the necessary orders to the American naval forces to prevent the unloading of the war material in Tampico, unless it is thought preferable that the

Mexican gunboats detain the vessel and seize the contraband of war. In this last case the American Government must not consider the act as hostile to the American nation, as the Mexican delegation places on record its Government's most earnest desire to avoid any incident which may disturb the peace negotiations.

The Mexican delegates requested the A B C mediators to give this matter especial consideration.

For a time, mediation halted and the Peace Conference seemed likely to break up with little or nothing accomplished. The A B C mediators, it was reported, insisted that the provisional President of Mexico should be a neutral. The Mexican delegates agreed to this; but the American delegates were held by the Washington Government to a different view: they insisted "that the method of transition from the present regime to the new Government shall not be through the appointment by General Huerta as Minister of Foreign Affairs of the man agreed upon for provisional President." The American delegates were against what the mediators termed the Constitutional method of succession, "not only because of their Government's consistent policy of non-recognition of Huerta, but because the Constitutionals have informed Washington that they will never accept a Huerta appointment as a provisional President, and peace cannot be restored without their acquiescence." Such at least was the statement of the issue given out through the press.

A day or so later—June 11th—the diplomats at Niagara Falls, exasperated by the long delay and tired of waiting on Carranza, made public the correspondence of May 3d and June 2d.¹ The representatives of the United States acceded

1. See ante, pp. 34-37.

to the original plan of the mediators, providing for the selection of a provisional President, the choice to be sanctioned by Huerta. This agreement, which was characterized by a portion of the press as a "back down" on the part of President Wilson's Administration, none the less cleared the way for further results. It was announced that in future the conferences of the A B C mediators would be held in the presence of all the delegates of both countries. This was considered significant, in view of the fact that the American delegates had conferred on only two previous occasions with the representatives of General Huerta in the 22 days they had been at Niagara Falls.

On this same eventful 11th of June, word was received from General Carranza, stating that he would appoint representatives to the Niagara Peace Conference.

The publication of the Carranza correspondence showed how slight was the prospect of reaching a peace agreement if the United States continued to insist on a Constitutionalist as provisional President. It was noted, too, that although Carranza now promised to send representatives to Niagara Falls, he by no means agreed to cease his warfare.

Definite progress was reported the following day, when the delegates for the United States, and for the Huerta Government, in the presence of the mediators, signed the following protocol:

A Government to be constituted in Mexico of a character to be later provided, which shall be recognized by the United States on [*date to be fixed*] and which from that day forward shall exercise public functions until there shall be inaugurated a Constitutional President.

This plank in the peace plan, drafted after more than three weeks of discussion, was significant of two things: it made no mention of General Huerta as the provisional

President; and it omitted the method of transfer which the Mexican delegates and the mediators had suggested, and to which the United States had strenuously objected on the ground that its retention would be tantamount to recognition of the then existing regime.

This protocol, though of few words, embodied one principle for which the United States had long contended—the elimination of Huerta.

The negotiators manifested their satisfaction that one step forward had been taken; and a reporter expressed the situation in effective simile: “With one block laid and cemented firmly in place by the representatives of five Governments every one is hopeful that the work done today will prove to be the solid cornerstone from which the entire structure of the peace plan will rapidly rise.”¹

On the same day that the first protocol was signed, word reached Niagara Falls that General Carranza had decided to send representatives to the Peace Conference. That they could not be officially received by the Conference did not greatly matter, for it was felt that any consultation with Carranza’s agents might open the way to an official and satisfactory agreement.

For a few days, no progress by the Conference was reported, but it was understood that a critical point had been reached, the American delegates having taken a firm stand in favor of a Constitutionalist for provisional President of Mexico, while the Mexican delegates as ardently advocated the selection of a neutral. With the delegates thus at cross-purposes, the South American mediators formally advised General Carranza that they could not admit his representatives to conference unless an armistice

1. Associated Press report, June 12th.

were declared, and internal as well as external phases of the Mexican problem were accepted as the scope of mediation. On June 11th the mediators received the following communication from Rafael Zubaran, General Carranza's special representative at Washington:

The undersigned, special representative of First Chief of the Constitutionalist army of Mexico, Don Venustiano Carranza, pursuant to instructions received, has the power to transcribe to your Excellencies the following communication received this day by telegraph:

"I have the honor of receiving your courteous note, dated at Niagara Falls on the 2d inst., which you had the kindness to send me through Licentiate Rafael Zubaran. In said note you again see fit to express to me your wish that as First Chief of the Constitutionalist army, I appoint delegates to represent me at the conferences which are being held in that city in connection with the good offices you tendered the United States, General Huerta and myself, to settle the international conflict existing between the United States and Mexico.

"Having accepted in principle as far back as April 29th last, your good offices, and as you are now awaiting the appointment of commissioners, I have the honor to inform you that I appoint on my part as representatives of the First Chief of the Constitutionalist army under my command, Señor Fernando Iglesias Calderon, Licentiate Luis Cabrera and Licentiate José Vasconcelos, to attend as my delegates, the conferences you are now holding and at which it is sought to settle the international conflict which has arisen between the United States and the Mexican republic.

"I would thank you to have the kindness to reply to this note in order that in a proper case I may give instructions to my representatives so that they may proceed to that city for the discharge of their mission duly authorized by me."

The reply of the mediators, telegraphed from Niagara Falls on June 15th, was as follows:

We have had the honor this day of receiving the communication which you addressed to us through your representative, Mr. Rafael Zubaran, and with reference thereto we hasten to advise you of our fear that you have not duly considered the final paragraphs of our note of the 2d inst. We greet you with our highest consideration.

Taking no official notice of the Carranza correspondence, the mediators continued their efforts to select a provisional President for Mexico. In the words of Justice Lamar, their attempts to frame a second plank of the peace plan "led us into the discussion of personnel"; but the delegates could hit on no name acceptable to all. Some days passed with no reported progress. The Argentine Minister, Señor Naon, departed for New England, where both Harvard and Yale Universities bestowed honorary degrees upon him. There was a halt in peace negotiations at Niagara Falls; it even was reported that a crisis was at hand.

On the afternoon of June 16th a conference was held at the Lafayette Hotel in Buffalo between the United States delegates to the Peace Conference and representatives of Carranza. Efforts were taken to keep the meeting from the knowledge of the press. At the Falls, after lunch, Justice Lamar and Mr. Lehmann had set out by motor-car, ostensibly for a little tour through the islands, but instead, they were driven rapidly to Buffalo. At the hotel they were at once shown to private rooms, where they were greeted by Rafael Zubaran, Carranza's chief adviser in the United States; Luis Cabrera, one of Carranza's delegates to the mediation Conference; and L. A. Peredo, who acted as secretary. They were in consultation together for some hours. On separating, the Mexicans hurried to a train for Washington,

Justice Lamar and his associates returning to the Falls. On being urged by reporters for some account of the meeting, Justice Lamar said:

"For some time we have been trying to get into communication with the Constitutionalists. They did not feel they could, under the circumstances, come to Niagara Falls, but they were anxious to meet us and suggested Buffalo. With the approval of Washington, we waived all formality and went to see them. We met Rafael Zubaran and Luis Cabrera, the authorized representatives of General Carranza. We had previously informed the mediators of our plans."

Further than this, nothing was given out, of an authoritative nature, regarding the conference in Buffalo. It was readily understood, however, that Justice Lamar and Mr. Lehmann had come to Buffalo not only in the hope of arranging some practicable way for negotiating with the Constitutionalists while the mediation proceedings were in progress, but of agreeing upon a man suitable for provisional President. The Buffalo conference was secret and confidential; yet the Associated Press, the next morning, gave to its readers throughout the country a statement which evidently came from a well-informed source.

According to this source of information, the Mexican Constitutionalists, on the arrival of the American conferees at the Lafayette Hotel, had made known first of all that the condition made by the mediators—the declaration of an armistice—was an impossible one for them to fulfill in advance of some definite agreement on a peace plan. Señor Cabrera, as an illustration, was reported to have said that the Constitutionalist army was like a man on a bicycle, which was a good instrument as long as it kept moving. To stop would mean that the wheel would upset. If the

Constitutionalist army were forced to stop fighting, he said, it would disintegrate.

Under a long armistice all sorts of conditions might arise which might make it impossible for chiefs to hold their men together. A revolutionary army has for its object, he said, a definite military campaign. When it is stopped in the midst of it, momentum is lost. To declare an armistice while peace was being discussed would accrue only to the benefit of General Huerta, the weaker force. Should the negotiations fail, the Constitutionalists would not be able to resume their campaign with the same vigor as when it was interrupted. These were Mr. Cabrera's views and they were supposed to be shared by Mr. Zubaran, who spoke little or no English.

Leaving the question of an armistice, both Señor Cabrera and Señor Zubaran explained they hoped there might be some peaceful way of solving the Mexican problem; that they, too, wished to avoid further bloodshed, but councils and mediation conferences were valueless unless they took into consideration the terms which the Constitutionalists demanded.

Señor Cabrera was reported as saying that the Constitutionalist army would never lay down its arms, the various chiefs would never agree to any change of political plans, unless someone so prominent in the Constitutionalist ranks as to guarantee their forces absolute control was elevated to the Presidency. It was useless, Señor Cabrera explained, to talk of a neutral under the existing circumstances. It must be a partisan, and one who could command the confidence of the great army controlling all Northern Mexico. The plan of Guadalupe, drawn up by General Carranza and signed by all his chiefs, also came into discussion.

The two Constitutionalist representatives explained that

allegiance to this plan had been sworn by the Constitutionalist leaders and could not be changed unless something more acceptable were offered as a substitute. The plan provided for a military conquest of Mexico City and the establishment there of General Carranza as provisional President until the country was pacified and preparations made for a general election.

Señor Cabrera explained, moreover, the plans of the Constitutionlists for the prosecution of their campaign. He argued that unless the Huerta delegates were ready to arrange for a peaceful surrender, it was useless to discuss neutral persons for the Presidency. He said that in the event of surrender guarantees of amnesty for the deserving would be given.

The American delegates left Buffalo very much depressed.

Another incident of this eventful day was the issuance, by the Mexican delegates at Niagara Falls, of a statement repudiating the claims of Charles A. Towne, who was said to claim that he represented, in Washington, the interests of the Huerta government. The statement of the Mexicans was as follows:

The Mexican delegates have read in a New York paper of today's date [June 16th] an account of an intrigue supposed to have been started in Mexico City by persons in relation with Charles A. Towne, and in this connection they definitely beg to state that they have had and have nothing to do with Mr. Towne; that they have held no conference of any kind with anyone over the telephone since their arrival at Niagara Falls; that they are not in communication with General Felix Diaz, or with his agents; and that the part which the article referred to gives them in the intrigue, is entirely without foundation in fact.

In view of former references in the press to the intervention of Mr. Towne in Mexican matters, the Mexican delegation yesterday addressed a telegram to its Government inquiring whether the gentleman mentioned was in any way authorized by it. This morning the delegation received an answer, a knowledge of which was immediately given to the press, authorizing it to deny Mr. Towne's connection with the Mexican Government.

The Mexican delegation knows as the only guide to its conduct its sense of duty to the best interests of its country which follows the line of instruction given it in Mexico, instructions which have not been subjected to any change or modification.

The Huerta delegates to the mediation conference issued a statement June 17th, charging that the insistence by the United States on a Constitutionalist for the provisional Presidency as opposed to a neutral was "tantamount to abetting and even exacting, fraud and violence at the elections." It outlined the substance of a memorandum dated June 12th, which the Huerta delegates gave to the American delegation, and to which the latter had replied.

The preface of the statement explained that publication was made because knowledge of the criticism already had reached representatives of the press. The statement continued as follows:

There is no reason for further concealment of the difference which has arisen between the American and Mexican delegations to which the press has already referred, over the provisional Government for Mexico which is at present under consideration. The Mexican delegation, adopting a principle advanced by the mediating plenipotentiaries, agreed to the designation of provisional President of a neutral. The American delegation submitted its plan based on the condition that the provisional President shall be a Constitutionalist, a condition which the Mexican delegation flatly rejected, of its own accord and without even

consulting its Government. To put in writing the reasons for the rejection, so that they might better be studied by the American delegates, the Mexican delegation addressed to them the memorandum mentioned, the chief considerations of which are the following:

In a country unused to electoral functions, such as Mexico, and particularly in the circumstances and conditions it would be in, once the revolution has ceased, a provisional Government composed of revolutionaries, and with revolutionaries in authority throughout the country, would turn the elections as it wished; the public vote would be falsified and the result would necessarily be the election of another revolutionary. Consequently, when the Washington Government today insists on the designation of a Constitutionalist as provisional President it favors also from today, the imposition of a revolutionary President at the elections. Such an attitude is bad for both countries and for the chief of the revolution (who will doubtless also be its candidate); bad for the two countries because it will create a national sentiment of hostility in the Mexican people, when a sympathetic *rapprochement* between them and the United States should be striven for; bad for Carranza and his party, because public opinion in Mexico, whose susceptibility in the matter is well known to them, would ever accuse them of having brought about the intervention of a foreign nation to enable him to achieve power and of wielding an authority submissive to a foreign Government.

In the United States, and in some European countries, the influence of the Government power on elections is slight, if any. In Latin-American countries it is usually decisive and, product of a revolution which believes in its right to power by conquest, a revolutionary Government does not hesitate to set aside all law to trample on the public will. In Mexico, in the present circumstances, only a well-balanced Government can guarantee electoral freedom, so that the rejection of the neutral Government proposed by the mediators, is tantamount to abetting and even exacting fraud and violence at the elections.

The American delegation draws an illogical inference when it says that the rebel successes show that the nation is with them. The central and eastern states of the republic, which have a population of over 10,000,000 inhabitants, are not under rebel control. Of these, Guanajuato, Jalisco, Puebla, Vera Cruz, Mexico and Oaxaca, alone have over 7,000,000. But admitting said erroneous inference to be correct, it is no argument for the forcible imposition of triumph of the revolutionary candidate, as under a neutral Government he would be assured of a certain and honorable victory.

If the nation is with Carranza, as the American delegation claims it is, the nation will elect him without the necessity of tainting his triumph with either fraud or violence or the charge of its being the fruit of foreign intervention, accusations which public opinion will always make against it. Carranza elected by the nation under a neutral provisional Government would command the respect due to the person who incarnates the nation's will, whereas elected under a government purposely imposed, as the result of any action of the Washington Government, he would always be regarded as a traitor.

If things are as the American delegation claims them to be, Carranza is certain of his election and in this case only a matter of form is being discussed, which is whether he is to be elected at elections held by a rebel provisional Government which would exercise violence against the people to achieve its end, or at elections presided over by a neutral Government which will carry them out honestly. Now the government of a people in the front rank of civilization and moral culture cannot assume, for a mere matter of form, the responsibility for the continuation of the slaughter, pillage and atrocities which accompany the present struggle in Mexico, and which a vain effort has been made to conceal from the public of the United States.

The statement was said also to contain reference to other matters not made public.

The publication of this document was unexpected by the

American delegates. When they learned of it their attitude was that the Huerta delegates were acting entirely within their rights when they criticized the American plan for the establishment of a provisional Government in a communication addressed to the Americans themselves, but they were greatly surprised by the Mexican delegates in giving it out.

Justice Lamar and Mr. Lehmann read the statement issued by the Mexican delegation and determined to make public their reply. The next day—June 18th—the American delegation made public a statement issued with the consent of the Government at Washington, in reply to the statement given out by the Mexican delegation, criticising the American plan for the establishment of a provisional Government in Mexico with a Constitutionalist at its head.

Suggestions that President Wilson had any intent to destroy the electoral liberty of Mexico were “utterly repudiated” by the American representatives.

The statement covered the whole range of criticism made by the Huerta delegates, and was interpreted as foreshadowing the unalterable and unyielding position of the United States in future parleys. It was as follows:

The American representatives do not think it is conducive to the interests of mediation to publish during its pendency the various plans or the contentions of the parties; but as the Mexican representatives have given out a formal statement of their objections to the appointment of a Constitutionalist as provisional President because, among other things, an election conducted by such a provisional Government would not represent the will of the Mexican people, it has been thought necessary to give a part of the answer to the letter written by Mr. Rabasa.

In that answer the American representatives utterly repudiate any suggestions that the American President has any intent of destroying the electoral liberty of Mexico, and

insists that the Mexican representatives entirely misunderstand the motives and objects of the President, who recognizes the facts and sees in the past success of the Constitutionalist army indisputable evidence of the approval of the Mexican people. But he also sees that the full triumph of that army means an indefinite continuance of the war with the suffering and bloodshed and death which every war involves.

These consequences the President seeks to prevent through mediation, but we greatly fear that the language of the Mexican note implies that his efforts may be thwarted because of unwillingness to have a Constitutionalist as provisional President, even though that promises the only practicable means by which the horrors of war can be prevented.

Hope is expressed that the Mexican representatives will not further oppose the only plan which promises peace, when its rejection means suffering and death to so many. We are convinced "that your objections to the plan itself and your fear of the ill consequences that may follow its adoption are not well founded; and that in attacking the details you lose sight of the large and controlling motive which from the beginning of this trouble has been in the mind of the President and which has influenced the American representatives in all that they have said or proposed to the mediators."

The American Government seeks only to assist in securing the pacification of Mexico. It has no special interest in the method or in the person by which that great end is to be accomplished; and if it presses for any particular answer, method, or for the selection of a particular type of men, it is only because it believes them to be the only means to the desired end. American objections to the plan approved by the Mexican representatives have been based upon the profound conviction that the adoption of that plan would not stop the progress of the victorious army nor bring that speedy peace which the American Government so sincerely desires.

It would be easy at this Conference to write an agreement which many would consider desirable, but unless the

most excellent of plans and the most excellent of men are accepted by the Constitutionalists, we would only have a paper plan, perfect in form and just in expression, but wholly ineffective to secure peace in war-worn Mexico. To bring that war to a close, to restore peace and constitutional government, is the aim of the President; and that end can only be attained by consulting the just wishes of the Constitutionalists who are not only in numerical majority, but are now the dominant force in the country.

Most of those in that party will necessarily be long ignorant of terms agreed on at Niagara Falls, but they know men and they do know for what men stand. And if the right man is selected for provisional President, they can, and we hope will, accept his appointment as concrete and satisfactory evidence that the provisional Government is not intended to prevent the adoption of the reforms, to secure which the Mexican people have risen in arms.

If those selected by the mediators to administer the provisional Government have the confidence of the Constitutionalists, a long step will have been taken towards the pacification of Mexico without furnishing any occasion for alarm to those Mr. Rabasa represents . . . for if the plan is accepted both by General Huerta and General Carranza, the cessation of arms follows and provisional government is established to maintain order, to protect life and property and to call an election at which every qualified voter may cast his ballot for the President of his choice; while if the plan indorsed by the Mexican representatives should be adopted and a neutral should be chosen as provisional President, we would have secured no practical results, but still be confronted with the insurmountable fact that the Constitutionalists, now almost completely triumphant, would reject the plan, repudiate the man and press forward with renewed zeal to Mexico City, with all the loss of blood and life that may involve.

In reference to the suggestion that the provisional President should be a neutral, it is said that "it is manifest that in such a contest as has been waged in Mexico for years, it is not only fair, but necessary, to assume that every in-

telligent man of any prominence is at heart on one side or the other and the country might well question the patriotism of any Mexican who has been colorless in such a contest; and as the provisional President must, to some, be identified with one party or the other, it necessarily follows that to meet the requirements of the present situation his sympathies, which really mark the man, must be with the dominant element.

"The effort, therefore, should be not to find a neutral, but one whose attitude on the controlling issues would make him acceptable to the Constitutionals; while his character, standing and conduct would make him acceptable to the other party.

"Such a man, and only such a man, can reasonably be expected to have the confidence and respect of the entire country. . . . If those discussed do not possess the required qualifications it is only because we have not succeeded in finding what we sought. You can quite well appreciate how difficult it is for us under the circumstances to do more than we have and to further promise diligently and earnestly to continue the search."

In answer to the contention that there could be no fair elections conducted by a provisional Government of which a Constitutionalist was a provisional President, the answer of the Americans calls attention to the fact that in the past the elections in Mexico have been under the supervision of a single Cabinet minister, representing the dominant party. By analogy the next election should be supervised by only one officer representing the dominant Constitutionalist party. The American plan seeks to avoid the just criticism against that method and contemplates that this, the most important election in the history of the Mexican nation, should be supervised by the representatives of both parties.

"It is wholly incorrect to assume that thus supervised it would be unfairly conducted and you may rest assured that all the influence the United States can legitimately use will be exerted to secure an honest election. Indeed, it is the earnest desire of our Government that the permanent President shall be chosen in a manner so free from objec-

tion that his title to that high office and the confidence and respect of his people will be strengthened by their knowledge that he represents their free and unfettered choice at an election held, not by one party as in the past, but by representatives of both factions.

"It is true that the American plan proposes that a majority of this board shall be Constitutionalists, but that is because they now represent the sentiment of the majority of the people of Mexico. That, however, does not mean, nor should it be construed to mean, that thereby the American Government seeks, as you say, to force an election in favor of the Constitutionalists. So far from being true, our experience in this country with bipartisan boards leads us to believe that this is the most efficient method that can be devised to secure a fair election and a true count of the ballots."

A matter not directly or indirectly referred to in the Mexican statement is omitted. The letter concludes with the statement:

We are happy at the opportunity your note gives us to repeat that the United States wants nothing except the good of her sister republic. The United States is a party to the mediation in the hope that it might lead to peace and that the peace will lead to prosperity. The plan which the American representatives propose, and on which we must insist, has been formulated solely with that end in view. Actuated by these motives, we feel that we may appeal to you, and through you to the other Mexican representatives to read again our plan in the light of these words.

The interrupted conferences were resumed on June 19th. In the meantime Minister Naon had visited Washington and conferred with Secretary Bryan. It was reported that one of his objects in visiting the capital at this time was to induce the Constitutionalist leaders to waive temporarily their objection to the consideration of Mexican internal affairs by the Peace Conference. The differences which

had arisen between Carranza and his chief lieutenant, Villa, were thought to have materially changed the situation as presented to the Conference. The confused military situation in Mexico was obviously one of the causes which led the American delegates to state their attitude in the following words: "American objections to the plan approved by the Mexican representatives have been based on the profound conviction that the adoption of that plan would not stop the progress of the victorious army, nor bring that speedy peace which the American Government so sincerely desires." The plan referred to had been suggested by the mediators and concurred in by the Mexicans. Its rejection by the representatives of the Government at Washington foreshadowed the ending of the Peace Conference. The ultimatum of the United States was, pacification for Mexico; and inasmuch as the conferees could not agree on requisites precedent to such pacification, nor on the type of man available for provisional President, there was obviously nothing to be gained by a continuance of negotiations. Indeed, the press reported that this was President Wilson's view.

Minister Naon returned from Washington on June 20th, in hopeful mood. After some days of parleys on the part of the Conference, and of speculation and conjecture by press and public, it was announced that representatives of General Carranza were on their way to Niagara Falls, to confer with the representatives of General Huerta. They did not, however, arrive at the Falls. General Carranza's secretary, Alfredo Breceda, and Fernando Iglesias Calderon, head of the Liberal party in Mexico, arrived at New Orleans on the 23d, where they were met by Juan F. Urquidi; and Secretary Breceda airily announced that they would not treat with Huerta's representatives nor meet them

"except on the battlefield," and that they had no idea of accepting the invitation to Niagara Falls.

At the conclusion of the Peace Conference, June 24th, Ambassador da Gama gave out a statement embracing the protocols which had just been signed. He announced that three articles of the peace plan had been protocolized and that these related only to the international side of the Mexican problem.

"We deemed it advisable," he said, "to invite the Constitutionalist party to send delegates to discuss with the Mexican delegates the internal aspects of the problem."

The protocols signed follow :

Article 1. The provisional Government referred to in the protocol No. 3 shall be constituted by agreement of the delegates representing the parties between which the internal struggle in Mexico is taking place.

Article 2. (a) Upon the constitution of the provisional Government in the City of Mexico the Government of the United States of America will recognize it immediately, and thereupon diplomatic relations between the two countries will be restored.

(b) The Government of the United States of America will not in any form whatsoever claim a war indemnity or other international satisfaction.

(c) The provisional Government will proclaim an absolute amnesty to all foreigners for any and all political offences committed during the period of civil war in Mexico.

(d) The provisional Government will negotiate for the constitution of international commissions for the settlement of the claims of foreigners on account of damages sustained during the period of civil war as a consequence of military acts or the acts of national authorities.

Article 3. The three mediating Governments agree on their part to recognize the provisional Government organized as provided by section 1 of this protocol.

Protocol No. 3 referred to above, had been signed two weeks previously. It set forth merely that a provisional Government to be constituted as later provided should be recognized on a certain date, to be agreed upon subsequently, and from that time forward should exercise Governmental powers until the inauguration of a constitutional President.

At the Peace Conference, on the evening of June 24th, the following statement was read and incorporated in the minutes:

The internal question of Mexico constitutes an essential difficulty in the way of the full solution of the conflict pending with the United States of America. We so understood when we extended to all the parties interested the tender of our good offices toward the peaceful settlement of this conflict.

Unfortunately, circumstances we respect did not permit the Constitutionalist party, notwithstanding its acceptance in principle of our tenders, to participate in the conferences of the mediation under the conditions which we considered as indispensable if they were to be conducted in that atmosphere of cordiality and confidence which would facilitate the solution sought. Notwithstanding this, we, the mediators, understand that at the present moment it is our duty to remove all obstacles which might stand in the way of the attainment of the purposes which prompted the tender of our good offices; and the study we have made of all the circumstances connected with that conflict has shown us that its settlement is dependent, at the present moment, on the solution of the internal question between the contending parties, and that it is the latter to whom peculiarly belong the right and the authority to solve it.

It is for this reason that we have thought it our duty to invite, as we have, both the representatives of the Constitutionalist party and those of the Government of General Huerta accredited to the conferences of the mediation, to meet at a place near that where they are being held, in order to discuss and agree between themselves on the basis

of an arrangement whereby the political pacification of the country could be consummated, with the termination of the civil war and the organization of a provisional Government to conduct the general elections for the establishment of the powers of a permanent Government.

In this manner, and if an unprejudiced and compromising spirit could prevail at said conferences, we trust that Mexican patriotism will remove, by itself and without outside interference, the causes of the sorrowful situation in which the country finds itself at the present time, reestablishing thereby the exercise without reservation of her national sovereignty and of her material and moral prosperity.

Furthermore, the mediation in which we are engaged, it should be unnecessary to repeat, has not proposed in any form whatsoever to interfere in, decide or legislate on internal questions of Mexico, but seeks, as at all times it has sought, to bring about between the contending parties a serene discussion of the conflicting interests which now divide them in order to procure or facilitate an agreement between them with the aid of our friendly counsel, without prejudgment or partiality.

This action of the Conference put the issue squarely before the representatives of the two warring factions, on whom now rested the responsibility for the success or failure of the peace plan as a whole.

The protocol was telegraphed to Washington, and on the same evening word came from President Wilson and Secretary Bryan authorizing the American delegates to sign it. The President informed Minister Naon, the Argentina mediator, then in Washington, that the American Government desired to have the Constitutionals and the Huerta Government compose their difficulties, as a previous condition for the settling of the international problem.

Dispatches were published from Santiago, Chili, from Buenos Ayres, and from Mexico City, expressing great

satisfaction with the outcome of the Peace Conference. A journal of Buenos Ayres said: "The result of the mediation Conference forms a fresh tie between Argentina, Brazil and Chili"; and *La Prensa*, another paper of the same city, gave it a still broader interpretation, calling it "a real triumph for Pan-American diplomacy."

Realization of the serious problems that would confront the delegates of Generals Huerta and Carranza when they should undertake to negotiate a settlement of Mexico's internal troubles apparently did not lessen the optimism of our State Department.

That the Carranza delegates would come to negotiate with the representatives of General Huerta was regarded as certain by those within the mediation circle.

One thing that encouraged the optimists was the attitude of General Villa. It was stated that his course went to prove that he would agree to abide by any arrangement made by the two sets of Mexican delegates.

Under the articles of agreement as protocolized by the representatives of President Wilson and General Huerta, establishment of a provisional Government at Mexico City was expected to bring at the very outset formal recognition by the United States, Argentina, Brazil, and Chili, and their approval was certain to be followed by similar action by the great nations of Europe. Indorsed in that way, the provisional Government, it was argued, would be able to borrow the money needed for immediate expenses, and the financial success of the new regime and the Constitutional Government that would succeed it would apparently be assured.

Furthermore, an amicable settlement of differences by the Mexican factions would bring a result desired by both of them—the withdrawal of the United States forces from Vera Cruz. The only condition the Washington Adminis-

tration made for such withdrawal was that a provisional Government be established by agreement of the contestants. That was made plain by the attitude of the American delegates in the A B C mediation.

Among the numerous rumors and reports given currency at this time by the press, was a statement sent out from New Orleans, purporting to give details of the demands made by the United States upon General Carranza as a condition of admitting Carranza's representatives to the mediation Conference at Niagara Falls. These statements, it was said, were given out by Fernando Iglesias Calderon, chief of the Liberal party in Mexico, then *en route* to Washington in connection with the Mexican problem. According to him, the United States demanded that all property of the Catholic Church confiscated by the Constitutionalists should be returned to the Church, that buildings destroyed should be paid for, that priests should be protected and that priests driven from the country should be allowed to return. To this Carranza replied that the Constitutionalist laws of reform provided that all church property should go to the State when needed and also that the priests must go.

Calderon also was reported as saying that Carranza refused to accede to the demand for elections as soon as the revolution was ended. His reply to that, according to the statement, was that elections could not take place until banditry had ceased.

Another demand was that Huerta should be protected, to which Carranza had replied that according to the Aztec law Huerta must die. That Carranza also refused to obligate the Constitutionalists to pay debts incurred by the

Huerta Government was another assertion in the Calderon statement.

The foregoing statements were no sooner published than officials at Washington emphatically denied that the United States Government had made the demands as alleged. The demands were such as might have been made by the Huerta delegates upon the Peace Conference, and might have been transmitted by the mediators to General Carranza. It was obvious, however, that the United States, in view of the positive position it had taken throughout the mediation proceedings, would not have made demands upon the Constitutionalists which it was impossible for them to accept.

The Constitutionalists in Mexico, in spite of the strife between rival commanders, were cheered by their continued successes over the Federals. At Washington, Señor Breceda said: "I have come to Washington to present to the Constitutional agents here the ideas of General Carranza relating to the revolution in Mexico and the plans of his people for the overthrow of General Huerta. I will deliver my message and confer with our people here who have been discussing mediation plans with the Washington Government. We will talk with General Carranza. Whether we shall go to Niagara Falls or some other adjacent place to meet representatives of the United States and of General Huerta to discuss Mexico's internal affairs, I do not know. I am awaiting orders. I have no instructions personally to confer with your Secretary of State or your President. Perhaps my colleagues here might do so." Señor Breceda knew no English, and spoke through an interpreter.

Finally, on June 30th, the mediators at Niagara Falls received a note from Carranza expressing an inclination to share in informal conferences, but asking for more time "in

which to consult his subordinate generals." He wished, he was reported as saying, to get full authority from the signers of the Plan of Guadalupe, the platform of the Constitutionalist movement, so that delegates might be clothed with plenary powers. He gave no inkling as to the length of time such consultation might require.

This was, in effect, the end of the Peace Conference. Without unseemly haste or undiplomatic word or act, the mediators voted, June 30th, to take an indefinite recess. The next day Minister Naon departed for Washington, Ambassador da Gama went to his summer home at Long Branch. The Mexican and American delegates did not depart until some days later.

The South American mediators, when questioned as to what was to follow, assured the reporters that mediation, or their services as mediators, might still continue, although the last meeting of the Peace Conference at Niagara Falls had perhaps been held. Ambassador da Gama pointed to the fact that the mediation of a boundary dispute between Ecuador and Peru, in which the United States and Brazil had tendered their good offices in 1910, was still in progress. A mediation board, he explained, was not like an international conference, with a definite time for meeting and adjourning and a fixed programme. Mediation chiefly offers advice to parties at conflict and devises a means for the composition of international delegates. The A B C mediators considered that their chief work had been done. They had drawn up a series of protocols setting forth the conditions under which the United States would recognize a new Government, and these had been ratified by their respective Governments.

Originally the three diplomats tendered their good offices to avert war. In the acceptance by the United States of their tender of good offices, hope was expressed by Secretary Bryan that the several elements in Mexico might be brought together and the country pacified. The three envoys thought, and said, that in devising the plan for informal conferences between the two factions their own task was ended, and that the responsibility for the completion of the peace programme rested on the Mexicans themselves.

At a farewell luncheon given July 1st by the mediators to the newspaper men who had "covered" the peace negotiations, Ambassador da Gama made the assertion that the mediators, through the agreements reached by the American and Mexican delegates, had established as a "principle of American policy" that international problems affecting the nations of the Western Hemisphere would always have "a fair examination and be settled without foreign interference." This statement embodied the idea of Pan-Americanism which many of the foremost statesmen of the Latin-American republics have advocated.

The following extract from the remarks of the Ambassador at this press luncheon are deemed worthy of preservation in this connection:

Gentlemen of the press, you will probably be surprised that we still have something to say after these 46 days of almost continuous talking, but there is something more to say. It is to acknowledge on behalf of the mediators the good work performed on this now historic spot by the best element of the American press here congregated to record our efforts toward international peace. The mediators have appreciated your labors, and we think we should not part before giving you this cordial testimonial of our deep gratitude for your efforts, your good will, and your earnest so-

licitude in the success of this work, which for all of us has been diplomatic, political, and, above all, thoroughly American in its aspects.

I have just been told here of a speaker who addressed the Congress of Chili for 28 days on a bill which he was interested in defeating. However, gentlemen, you need not stand in any fear of such an exhausting speech from me, for far be it from me to delay your departure for your homes so long. I will speak just for a moment and only to emphasize some facts of which you are aware. One of these is that there are three men composing the Board of Mediation, who have been together all these long days, bent upon the same problem, and withal have worked without dissensions, without disagreements, without quarrels.

This perfect harmony was due to our realization of our responsibilities and the inspiration of the occasion. I desire that some modest praise be given to my colleagues of the mediation and to myself for appearing before you as probably the most united political body ever constituted in the world. When we entered upon our work we realized that many difficulties beset our path. It was the 23d day of April that my colleagues of Argentina and Chili went to the Department of State in order to ascertain how the Government of the United States would accept our tender of good offices toward the settlement of the international conflict between Mexico and the United States. I did not go with them because I was compelled to attend the Congress of International Law, where I was afforded an opportunity to make an address, which, while it had nothing to do with mediation, did deal with the momentous points of national sovereignty and the advisability of leaving the solution of national problems to the countries themselves. I spoke of the regard in which international law was held in this our continent of America, and I was much gratified when later I heard the President of the United States say to us that the only way to solve Mexico's problems was to aid the contending parties in Mexico to reach an agreement among themselves, thus obtaining a Mexican solution of the Mexican question.

It was curious to note the different estimates made of the work of the mediators by different newspapers. A sharp divergence of view was expressed in the partisan press. While it was generally proclaimed that the end of mediation had been reached, it was variously described as a confession of signal failure or a triumph "prodigious and unprecedented in the history of international relations." This difference of opinion was largely due to the fact that while the mediators did offer a settlement of the international side of the Mexican problem, they left the "internal problem" unsolved. The main difference of opinion between the representatives of Huerta and the Administration at Washington had to do with the choice of a provisional President, the Mexicans insisting on a neutral, the American Government declaring for a Constitutionalist.

In the protocol signed at Niagara Falls all parties agreed to recognize a provisional Government to be "constituted by agreement of the delegates representing the parties between which the internal struggle in Mexico is taking place." It was further agreed that the United States would make no claim for "war indemnity or other international satisfaction," and that the provisional Government in Mexico would grant amnesty to all foreigners and arrange for the proper settlement of foreigners' claims for damages. With this, said the *New York Journal of Commerce*, "the mediators virtually wash their hands of the whole business," and it asked whether delegates of the Huerta and Carranza factions would get together and agree to a plan to be carried out in good faith:

If they do not, or if they devise a plan which our Government does not like and does not believe will result in permanent pacification and constitutional rule, or if the elections conducted under a plan to be adopted are as farcical

as elections in Mexico have been for many years, what then? Our delegates have not agreed that the United States will keep hands off while a provisional Government is being constituted and "the powers of a permanent Government are being established." They would not agree to the withdrawal of troops from Vera Cruz before the new provisional Government is set up. . . . There is no assurance that a permanent result will be reached. All that is really settled now is the imbroglio between the United States and General Victoriano Huerta. Even that is not placed beyond the possibility of renewal.

This point of view was by no means unanimous. The New York *Evening Post*, gratified with what it termed "this clear-cut disposal of our part in the matter," thought that "what with the steady march of the Constitutionalists toward complete military success, it will be strange if the negotiations do not ultimately result in bringing the Huertists to terms on lines substantially identical with those marked out by President Wilson from the beginning." Many leading journals took an optimistic view, as did official circles at Washington.

Here then may end our review of the Niagara Peace Conference of 1914. Historically the most important event of 1914, in the Niagara region, it is all too soon to write the history of it. Its work in fact is still unfinished; and a long time must elapse before it can be studied through the perspective of years, in its true bearings on the history of the two nations whose peaceful relations it was planned to promote. The object of the present compiler has been merely to set down, as clearly as may be, the story of the Conference; and to preserve, in these Publications of the Buffalo Historical Society, a contemporary record of so great and far-reaching an event which has occurred in the region the study of which is the special province of this institution.

THE
PEACE CONFERENCE
AT NIAGARA FALLS
IN 1864

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AN EPISODE OF THE CIVIL WAR

By FRANK H. SEVERANCE

There were not many episodes of the Civil War of wide import in the vicinity of Buffalo and the Niagara. This region was remote from the scenes of conflict and its Civil War record is chiefly that of the rest of the North—the recruiting of regiments, the drilling, the uniforming, the march through thronged streets, and the final departure by train of hundreds of the young men of the town to the accompaniment of cheers and tears, the beat of drums and the heavier beat of aching hearts; the amusing, mercenary or ignoble features of substitute-hiring, draft-dodging, and the warlike declarations of the stay-at-homes; the women's relief work, the Sanitary Commission, the fairs and shipments of supplies; the church services, the elation and the grief at news of battle, the suspense and uncertainty, the desolation of families, the loss to the community of the youth who should have been its source of strength in the coming years—these were the episodes of the Civil War in Buffalo as in most communities of the North during those four years of heavy trial. It is not of this common aspect of the War that I would make note.

There are a few incidents of this period, occurrences on the Lakes and along the Canadian border which constitute

chapters of Civil War history; such, for instance, as the plot to capture the United States gunboat *Michigan*, release the Rebel prisoners on Johnson's Island in the west end of Lake Erie, and ravage the lake cities. There are several narratives of this affair.¹

Another episode, local in a sense, but National in bearing, which has received little attention from students of our history, was the so-called Peace Conference at Niagara Falls, in July, 1864. I submit a brief account of it, drawn chiefly from the newspapers of that time.

Several distinguished Southerners found it expedient for one reason and another to sojourn during much of the Civil War period in Canada. By the early summer of 1864, it was well known that some of the more prominent of these men were at St. Catharines and at Niagara Falls. Perhaps the most conspicuous of them was Clement Claiborne Clay, a man of distinguished lineage, whose grandfather was a Revolutionary soldier and whose father had been Governor of Alabama. Clay himself had been a member of the United States Senate, but withdrew from that body when his State seceded from the Union. In March, 1861, a few weeks after his withdrawal, he was expelled, as were others of the Southern members who had similarly withdrawn. He was at once elected to the Confederate Congress as Senator from Alabama, and early in 1864 was sent to Canada as a secret agent of the Confederate cause. Just what he had done in the capacity of secret agent is difficult to state. He is charged with having shared in plans for raids against the frontier cities, and also with abetting the adventurers who plotted to burn New York City. For some weeks he kept a suite of rooms at the Clifton House and was ostensibly a gentleman of leisure,

1. By far the best, written by Mr. Frederick J. Shepard for the Buffalo Historical Society, is to be found in Vol. IX of its Publications.

spending a pleasant summer at a comfortable scenic point in the North, away from the heat and the turmoil of his home.

With him, at least a portion of the time, was Jacob Thompson, one of the most distinguished North Carolinians of the Civil War period. Thompson enjoyed a long career in public service, had served as Secretary of the Interior in President Buchanan's Cabinet, resigning that office in January, 1861, and removing to Mississippi where he became an adherent of the Confederacy. The next year he was made Governor of Mississippi, holding that office until 1864, when, for a time, he was in military service, attached to the staff of General Beauregard. He appears to have retained that connection when in the spring of 1864 he disappeared from the South, presently to be reported at various points in Canada. Like all the rest of these Southern *émigrés*, he was on a secret mission, though that mission took various forms according to circumstances. It is known that one of Thompson's plots was to release the Confederate prisoners of war at Camp Douglas in the suburbs of Chicago, and with them to attempt to seize that city. He was also said to have been in a number of incendiary schemes, one of which was to burn Buffalo. An encyclopedia sketch of him says that he plotted to introduce diseases, such as yellow fever, by means of infected rags, into Buffalo, Cleveland and other lake ports. Thompson was sometimes at Toronto, sometimes in the vicinity of Windsor and Amherstburg, across the river from Detroit, at other times was reported on the Niagara frontier, and again was lost sight of entirely. While he was undoubtedly in consultation with others of his kind at the Clifton House, he is not known to have had any leading part in the incident of July, 1864, which I am to relate.

A decenter man involved in the same plottings was James Philemon Holcombe, son of an eminent Virginia clergyman, himself a professor of law and *belles lettres* for several years at the University of Virginia. He had served in 1861 in the Virginia Secession Convention and for the three succeeding years as a member of the Confederate Congress. In July, 1864, we find him, also ostensibly a tourist, stopping at the Clifton House, but in daily consultation with Clay, George N. Sanders of Kentucky, and others.

Clay and Holcombe, and perhaps other Confederates, had made their way from the Southern States to Bermuda, sailing thence in an English vessel to Halifax, then traveling through Canada to Toronto, where Thompson made his headquarters much of the time, while Clay, Holcombe and Sanders came on to St. Catharines and Niagara Falls.

Mr. Lincoln had been renominated at the Baltimore convention in June. Although his adherents had overcome all opposition in the convention, there were many besides the Democratic party in the North who were not in harmony with his policy. He had antagonized many public men by failure to accept their advice. The extreme Abolitionists were as dissatisfied at his temperate course as were the most ardent sympathizers with the South. The most formidable force against Mr. Lincoln was the widespread, illogical complaint and criticism of the so-called Peace party. Of this phase of political opinion of the time, the ever-ready, voluble mouthpiece was Horace Greeley. As editor of the *Tribune*, Mr. Greeley assumed all the burdens of the Nation, and with unfailing self-sufficiency had a cure for every ill. He was especially ready in extending advice, pertinent and impertinent, to the patient man of the White House. Greeley learned of the presence of these plotting

Confederates at Niagara Falls. Ascribing to them a character which they really did not have—of authorized agents of the Confederacy, eager to treat for peace—he seized the opportunity for a new appeal to the least resolute and hopeful wing of the Republican party. He appears to have written, on his own responsibility, to the coterie of rebels in refuge at Niagara. I do not find this letter or telegram of Greeley's anywhere published, although several letters which followed were soon after made public. I can only surmise as to what Mr. Greeley wrote—he has no mention of the message in his "American Conflict"—by the following reply:

NIAGARA FALLS, July 5, 1864.

My Dear MR. GREELEY: In reply to your note, I have to advise having just left Hon. George N. Sanders, of Kentucky, on the Canada side. I am authorized to state to you, for our use only, not the public, that two ambassadors of Davis & Co. are now in Canada, with full and complete powers for a peace, and Mr. Sanders requests that you come on immediately to me, at Cataract House, to have a private interview, or if you will send the President's protection for him and two friends, they will come on and meet you. He says the whole matter can be consummated by me, you, them, and President Lincoln. Telegraph me in such form that I may know if you come here, or they to come on with me.

Yours,

W. C. JEWETT.

William Cornell Jewett, writer of the above note, is characterized by the *Buffalo Express*, July 23d, as "A mere madcap and intermeddler who acted as jackal for the rebels." Henry J. Raymond, in his "Life of Lincoln," speaks of him as "an irresponsible and half insane adventurer." Greeley in a letter to Lincoln, alludes to him as "our irrepressible friend, Colorado Jewett." I find no explanation of his nickname. It is plain from the correspondence

that Mr. Jewett was a busy go-between, for he turns up now at the International Hotel, on the American side of the falls, writing letters to Greeley; now over the river at the Clifton House in conference with Clay and Sanders. He followed the letter above given with the following telegram:

H. GREELEY, *Tribune*:

Will you come here? Parties have full power. Wrote you yesterday. JEWETT.

Jewett's letter and telegram Mr. Greeley sent on to President Lincoln with a long letter of his own on the situation. "Of course," he wrote, "I do not indorse Jewett's positive averment that his friends at the Falls have 'full powers' from J. D.,¹ though I do not doubt that he thinks they have." He calls Mr. Lincoln's attention to the spectacle of "our bleeding, bankrupt, almost dying country longing for peace"; alludes to the fact that Alexander H. Stephens had not been permitted a year before to visit Washington and confer with officials there with a view to peace terms, and continues: "I entreat you, in your own time and manner, to submit overtures for pacification to the Southern insurgents, which the impartial must pronounce frank and generous. I would give the safe-conduct required by the rebel envoys at Niagara, upon their parole to avoid observation and to refrain from all communication with their sympathizers in the loyal States. But whether through them or otherwise, do not, I entreat you, fail to make the Southern people comprehend that you, and all of us are anxious for peace, and prepared to grant liberal terms."

Then Mr. Greeley went on to suggest what he called a "plan of adjustment." The Union was to be restored and

1. Jefferson Davis.

declared perpetual; slavery was to be forever abolished; complete amnesty was to be granted with a full restoration of the privileges of citizenship; the Union was to pay four hundred million dollars in 5% United States stock to the late Slave States, loyal and secession alike, in compensation for the losses of their loyal citizens by the abolition of slavery. There were still other features of this "plan of adjustment," the last one being that a National Convention should be assembled to ratify the adjustment and to make necessary changes in the Constitution of the United States. "I do not say," added Greeley, "that a just peace is now attainable, but I do say that a frank offer by you to the insurgents of terms which the impartial say ought to be accepted will, at the worst, prove an immense and sorely needed advantage to the national cause. It may save us from a Northern insurrection."

To this President Lincoln sent the following reply:

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 9, 1864.

Hon. HORACE GREELEY:

DEAR SIR: Your letter of the 7th, with enclosures, received. If you can find any person anywhere professing to have any proposition of Jefferson Davis, in writing, for peace, embracing the restoration of the Union and abandonment of slavery, whatever else it embraces, say to him he may come to me with you, and that if he really brings such proposition, he shall, at the least, have safe-conduct with the paper (and without publicity if he chooses) to the point where you shall have met him. The same if there be two or more persons.

Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

Mr. Greeley finding himself thus deputized to meet the alleged peace emissaries of Jefferson Davis, replied at some length. Among other things he said:

Whether there be persons at Niagara (or elsewhere) who are empowered to commit the rebels by negotiation, is a question; but if there be such, there is no question at all that they would decline to exhibit their credentials to me, much more to open their budget and give me their best terms. Green as I may be, I am not quite so verdant as to imagine anything of the sort. I have neither purpose nor desire to be made a confidant, far less an agent, in such negotiations. But I do deeply realize that the rebel chiefs achieved a most decided advantage in proposing or pretending to propose to have A. H. Stephens visit Washington as a peacemaker, and being rudely repulsed; and I am anxious that the ground lost to the national cause by that mistake shall somehow be regained in season for effect on the approaching North Carolina election. I will see if I can get a look into the hand of whomsoever may be at Niagara; though that is a project so manifestly hopeless that I have little heart for it, still I shall try.

This letter failed to reach the President until after a still later one was received. July 13th, Mr. Greeley wrote to Mr. Lincoln that he had received information on which he could rely; that Hon. Clement C. Clay, of Alabama, and Hon. Jacob Thompson, of Mississippi, who were then at Niagara Falls, were desirous of conferring with the President if they could be given safe conduct to and from Washington. Greeley suggested that Sanders should be designated to accompany them, and said much else by way of pointing out to the President the salvation of the country, a thing that Greeley never failed to do.

By this time the letters were flying thick and fast, back and forth between New York and Niagara Falls. George N. Sanders wrote to Mr. Greeley, dating his letter "Clifton House, Niagara Falls, Canada West, July 12, 1864":

I am authorized to say that Honorable Clement C. Clay, of Alabama, Professor James P. Holcombe, of Virginia,

and George N. Sanders, of Dixie, are ready and willing to go at once to Washington, upon complete and unqualified protection being given either by the President or Secretary of War. . . .

Mr. Greeley does not appear to have turned over to President Lincoln all of his correspondence with the rebels. In reply to his letter of the 13th, the President wrote to Greeley: "I am disappointed. I was not expecting you to send my letter, but to bring me a man, or men. Mr. Hay goes to you with my answer to yours of the 13th."

That answer in substance informed Greeley that, if the alleged commissioners would consent to come, on being shown the President's letter of the 9th inst., they were to go to Washington with Greeley. Mr. Lincoln added: "I not only intend a sincere effort for peace, but I intend that you shall be a personal witness that it is made."

After the exchange of other messages, Mr. Greeley and Mr. Hay came on to Buffalo and thence to Niagara, where they lodged at the International Hotel. John Hay, then a young man of 26 years, had gained the rank of major by field service and had been Mr. Lincoln's private secretary almost from the beginning of his administration. Hay's part in the Niagara conference was a curious one. Mr. Greeley remained for the most part on the American side of the river; the Confederates stayed at the Clifton House; and Major Hay played messenger-boy between the two. Back and forth he went in the effort to bring something tangible out of the somewhat nebulous situation. He was the representative of the President and maintained throughout the whole affair the exact point of view of Mr. Lincoln. He had come to Niagara understanding that these refugee rebels were empowered to negotiate. Mr. Greeley had given his word that they were so authorized;

but when he had communicated with Clay and his associates, he had not given them clearly to understand the conditions imposed by Mr. Lincoln. Both parties were therefore sadly misled.

The Niagara affair was not the least incident in training which was to fit John Hay for his diplomatic expertness in years to come. He soon discovered that the alleged agents not only were not accredited from Jefferson Davis, but that they were not ready to go to Washington on the terms imposed by Mr. Lincoln. On July 18th, the President had written the following:

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, July 18, 1864.

To Whom it May Concern:

Any proposition which embraces the restoration of peace, the integrity of the whole Union, and the abandonment of slavery, and which comes by and with an authority that can control the armies now at war against the United States, will be received and considered by the Executive Government of the United States, and will be met by liberal terms on substantial and collateral points and the bearer or bearers thereof shall have safe conduct both ways.

(Signed) ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

With this message in his pocket, Major Hay crossed the Niagara, Mr. Greeley accompanying him, and at the Clifton House they laid the message before Professor Holcombe. Clay does not appear to have been present at this meeting. There was a short conference, after which the parties separated, Mr. Greeley returning to New York and John Hay returning to the International Hotel to await a formal answer from the Confederates which Professor Holcombe promised. That answer, received the next day, signed by C. C. Clay and James P. Holcombe, was a long statement to the effect that they could not accept the

President's proposition. The general tenor of the whole document may be judged from the following extract:

. . . Had the representatives of the two Governments met to consider this question, the most momentous ever submitted to human statesmanship, in a temper of becoming moderation and equity, followed as their deliberations would have been by the prayers and benedictions of every patriot and Christian on the habitable globe, who is there so bold as to pronounce that the frightful waste of individual happiness and public prosperity, which is daily saddening the universal heart, might not have been terminated, or if the desolation and carnage of war must still be endured through weary years of blood and suffering, that there might not at least have been infused into its conduct something more of the spirit which softens and partially redeems its brutalities? Instead of the safe-conduct which we solicited, and which your first letter gave us every reason to suppose would be extended for the purpose of initiating a negotiation in which neither Government would compromise its rights or its dignity, a document has been presented which provokes as much indignation as surprise. It bears no feature of resemblance to that which was originally offered, and is unlike any paper which ever before emanated from the Constitutional Executive of a free people. Addressed "to whom it may concern," it precludes negotiation, and prescribes in advance the terms and conditions of peace. It returns to the original policy of "no bargaining, no negotiations, no truces with rebels, except to bury their dead, until every man shall have laid down his arms, submitted to the Government, and sued for mercy."

What may be the explanation of this sudden and entire change in the views of the President, of this rude withdrawal of a courteous overture for negotiation at the moment it was likely to be accepted, of this emphatic recall of words of peace just uttered, and fresh blasts of war to the bitter end, we leave for the speculation of those who have the means or inclination to penetrate the mysteries of his Cabinet, or fathom the caprice of his imperial will. It is

enough for us to say that we have no use whatever for the paper which has been placed in our hands. We could not transmit it to the President of the Confederate States without offering him an indignity, dishonoring ourselves, and incurring the well-merited scorn of our countrymen.

No sooner was the story of this abortive conference spread abroad, than official denials were published. From Washington came the statement that "the Administration have never had before them for consideration any proposition from rebel authorities relating to pacification." Judah P. Benjamin, Confederate Secretary of State, published a letter in which he declared that it was without even the knowledge of the Richmond Government that Clay, Holcombe and Sanders opened their correspondence with Greeley. "They were without any authority from this Government to treat with that of the United States on any subject whatever."

A great amount of newspaper comment was evoked the country over, varying according to locality and political bias. Nowhere did the affair stir up livelier feeling than in the South. The Richmond *Examiner* of July 26th contained a long article on the subject, from which I quote the following characteristic passages:

For the first time we have the pleasure of heartily approving a State paper of Abraham Lincoln. It is his letter addressed "To Whom it May Concern." It concerns Messrs. Holcombe, C. C. Clay and George N. Sanders, and we would fondly believe no other person or persons whomsoever. When officious individuals go creeping round by back doors asking interviews with Lincoln for a full interchange of sentiments, it gives us sincere gratification to see them spurned, yes, kicked, from the said back door. To Abraham we deliberately say "Bravo," or, if he likes it better, "Bully." Think of an ex-Senator from Alabama

and a Virginian Member of Congress, for we say nothing of the third negotiator, exposing themselves, gratuitously, idly and unbidden to receive such an ignominious rebuff at the hands of the truculent buffoon of Illinois.

The editor continues in caustic vein to review the events at Niagara. Sanders throughout he treats with scorn; Greeley he alludes to as "That sanguinary philanthropist, a paltry abolitionist editor," and other like phrases. He concludes that the conference was planned purely to help the Peace party in the enemy's country and that Lincoln's letter was to be used by the Northern Democrats to show "how ferociously and unrelentingly the present Yankee Administration is bent on war and repulses the slightest hint of peace. As usual with such excessively cunning schemes, this one not only defeats itself, but helps the cause which it was possibly intended to damage. To exhibit an ex-Senator and Member of Congress of the Rebel States, thus timidly crawling by a roundabout way to the footstool of the emperor of the Yahoos, whining and snivelling about peace and liberal negotiations, and haughtily refused even admittance to the sovereign presence, will serve not the Peace but the War party, because it will be used to create the impression that the Confederacy must be in the agonies of death when two such distinguished legislators make so pitiful an attempt to reach the ear of offended majesty."

The newspapers of the time in discussing the matter of the Niagara conference, pay their respects in unstinted phrases to the Kentucky adventurer, George N. Sanders. He was not a man of established reputation like Clay and Holcombe; but in this affair he seems to have been the most active of them all. The *Buffalo Express*, in one of its numerous editorials on the subject, calls Sanders "one of

the pillars of the Democratic Party," says "he has given more dinners and dispensed more liquor at the expense of the Democratic party than any man living," and continues: "He has for years been a bright and shining light in its ranks, enjoying the confidence of its leaders as a sort of *Warwick* and was exceedingly handy in contributing to ambitious aspirants especially if they chanced to be wealthy. In the outbreak of the Rebellion, Sanders took the side of treason and the Confederacy, regarding it as an ample field for vast and lucrative speculations abroad. He became a Confederate contractor and left for Europe. His first field for operations was in England, where he contracted for ironclad vessels of war and blockade runners, and is said to have realized very handsomely therefrom. The English Cabinet, however, discovered that the building of contraband ships would not pay in the long run and Sanders' vocation was interfered with and rendered profitless for further prosecution in that direction. He recrossed the Atlantic, taking position at the Clifton House, Niagara Falls, where he could find ready access to the Northern politicians with Confederate sympathies."

An interesting phase of this episode is found in the sequel. Sanders may have been astute politician enough to have planned the conference less with the expectation of gaining peace terms from the President, than to make capital, by the alleged failure of the effort, for the Democratic National convention which was to be held later in the summer at Chicago. Certain it is, according to the scattered records in the Buffalo papers of the time, that many of the Democratic party leaders of New York State came to Niagara Falls and were there found in conference with Sanders, Clay and Holcombe. Among them were Dean Richmond and former Governor Washington Hunt, who

had become a Democrat and was one of the delegates to the Chicago convention. The Chicago platform, on which George B. McClellan and the forgotten Pendleton took their stand, attacked Mr. Lincoln and his war policy in terms identical with those employed by Sanders and Clay. How futile was this peace appeal to the country the election showed, when Mr. Lincoln received 212 electoral votes to 21 for McClellan.

The Niagara Peace Conference of 1864 affords abundant opportunity for discussion. A glance at the partisan press of those days proves that. My own reading of the incident has served chiefly to strengthen my admiration of the clear vision, strength and high purpose of Abraham Lincoln. On the other hand, it shows Horace Greeley even less astute, less sagacious and less resolute than I had heretofore conceived him to be. By concealing the conditions which the President demanded, Mr. Greeley contrived to put both parties at cross-purposes. His explanation, as elaborately set forth in the *Tribune*, and in "The American Conflict," did not change the facts. If he thought that no precedent conditions should be prescribed, he should have tried to persuade the President to agree with him. If he could not do so, he should have refused to act as an agent. Mr. Greeley, by his own account, was very much of the mind of the Chicago convention, that the war was a failure, and that the North should beg for the best terms it could get. Indeed, from the fatal moment in the early winter of 1860, when he said what was at once interpreted by the rebels to be a justification of the right of secession upon the principles of the Revolution, down to his obsequious description of Clay, Thompson and Sanders as "distinguished Americans of the other party to our civil war," Mr. Greeley's faith in the final triumph of the Union was apparently very

flickering. Certainly a man who doubted and desponded and despaired was not a proper agent for a man like Mr. Lincoln, whose tranquil faith never faltered.

THE CONSECRATION
OF NIAGARA TO PEACE

NIAGARA'S CONSECRATION TO PEACE

By FRANK H. SEVERANCE

Whoever traces the history of the Niagara region through the centuries, cannot fail to be impressed with the fact that its chief characteristic is warfare. Strife at arms, strife in trade, bitter rivalry for the control of this waterway which in early days was the key to wide navigation beyond and the mastery of half the continent,—these were the existing conditions and forces on the banks of the Niagara down to a period which in the history of the region, is recent.

Yet in these latter years Niagara Falls and vicinity have been the scene of world-famous peace conferences, and the great cataract, one of the most turbulent places on earth, has, by the impressive rites of the Roman Catholic Church, been consecrated to Peace.

The writings of many visitors at Niagara show that the great fall impresses itself upon their minds, not as an exhibition of angry forces of nature, but as a soothing influence. The descriptive symbolism applied to it is less often that of force or might or terror, than of tranquility, calmness, peace. This seeming paradox is well illustrated by the words of Charles Dickens: "The first effect, and the enduring one—instant and lasting—of the tremendous spectacle, was Peace. Peace of mind, tranquility . . . nothing of gloom or terror." Countless others have ex-

pressed the same thing in varying phrase; and because the two banks of the river are held by two nations, many a writer has been moved by the turmoil of the waters to speak of international peace. Thus Lord Morpeth, the Earl of Carlisle, visiting Niagara in 1841, gave metrical expression to a sentiment by no means unusual:

Oh! may the wars that madden in thy deeps
There spend their rage, nor climb the encircling steeps,
And, till the conflict of thy surges cease,
The nations on thy bank repose in peace.

That the idea of peace, a psychological expression of human sentiment, is inherent in natural conditions existing at the Falls, might be more fully established by long argument and many citations. But the object of the present notes is to record certain acts of the Catholic Church which have given to this recognition of the peace sentiment at Niagara the sanction of its authority, and incorporation into its form of worship. It is by no means a negligible chapter of our regional history.

On the high bank of the Niagara river, on the Canadian side, overlooking the crest of the great fall and the rapids above, there was built in 1837 a little Catholic church. The corner-stone was laid on June 13th; the building when completed was named after St. Edward; and a priest who later was the Very Rev. Edward Gordon, ministered at its altar.¹

At the beginning of the American Civil War the late Archbishop Lynch of Toronto, "moved with sorrow at the

1. The statement has often been made, especially by newspaper correspondents during the Peace Conference of 1914, that this church stands on the spot where Father Hennepin first said Mass on the Niagara in December, 1678. Postcards and circulars on sale at the Carmelite Hospice make the same claim. There is no authority for particularly associating Hennepin with this spot, nor, for that matter, with the point on the American side below the falls, called Hennepin's View. He may or may not have been at either place. His allusion to the first Mass on the Niagara is vague, but it appears to have been held near the mouth of the river, after his return from a reconnaissance which extended to Chippewa creek.

loss of many lives and the prospect of so many souls going before God in judgment, some, it is to be feared, but ill prepared, and at the sight of the beautiful rainbow that spanned the cataract, the sign of peace between God and the sinner, suggested prayers and religious exercises that the war would soon end." He then changed the name of the little church above the cataract to "Our Lady of Peace." It was at his solicitation and on his representations that the then reigning pontiff, Pope Pius IX., endowed the church with the privileges of a pilgrim shrine, where may be gained the indulgences attached to the most famous of old-world shrines. The original Papal document, in Latin, is preserved in the Diocesan Chancery office, in Toronto. It is deemed so eminently a document of Niagara regional history, that the publication here of the following translation is appropriate:

Pius P. P. IX.

For a Perpetual Remembrance.

Our Venerable Brother, John Joseph Lynch, the present Bishop of Toronto, set forth to Us, that it is his wish to establish a Sacred Pilgrimage at the Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Peace, situated near the Falls of Niagara, in that Diocese. Wherefore he earnestly besought Us graciously to open the heavenly treasures of indulgences, by establishing for the faithful the above named Holy Pilgrimage.

We, to increase the piety of the faithful and to save souls by the heavenly treasures of the Church, favoring the prayers addressed to Us, grant, through the Divine mercy, to all the faithful of both sexes who are truly penitent and have confessed their sins and received Holy Communion, a plenary indulgence and remission of all their sins, on whatever day in any year they may choose to perform the Holy Pilgrimage at that Church, and there pray piously to God and the Blessed Virgin Mary, for the concord of Christian Princes, the peace and triumph of Our Holy Mother the Church, the extirpation of heresies, and the conversion of sinners.

On whatsoever day the faithful shall perform the pilgrimage to the aforesaid church, with contrite heart, and shall pray as above prescribed, we grant an indulgence of seven years, and seven times forty days, from canonical or otherwise enjoining penance, in the usual ecclesiastical form; all of which indulgences, absolutions of sin, and remissions of canonical penance, We make applicable to assist the souls who have departed this life in friendship with God. Notwithstanding all past acts to the contrary, this is to avail for all future time.

Given at St. Peter's, Rome, Sealed with the Fisherman's Ring, March 1st, 1861, in the 15th year of Our Pontificate.

PIUS IX., PONT. MAX.

J. CARD. ANTONELLI.

The late Most Rev. John Joseph Lynch, D. D., Archbishop of Toronto, to whom the historian must ascribe this unique achievement, was a man whose activities and personality left a distinct impress upon the religious history of Canada. Born near Clones in Ireland, in 1816, at the age of sixteen he entered the college of the Carmelite Brothers near Clondalphin. In 1841 he took the vows of that Order, and in 1843 was ordained to the priesthood. In 1846 he was sent as missionary to Texas. Sickness interrupted his active work; he removed to New Orleans, and thence to St. Louis. In 1849 we find him on a special mission to Rome. It was in 1856, at the request of Bishop Timon of Buffalo, that he founded and managed a house of his Order at Niagara Falls, Canada, known as the Seminary of Our Lady of Angels. Under his care, says a church record, it flourished greatly. It was subsequently removed to Buffalo. In 1859 he was raised to the Bishopric of Toronto, and in 1870 elevated to an Archdiocese. At that time was established the Metropolitan See of Ontario, the ecclesiastical Province of Quebec having been divided. Among numerous institutions which Archbishop Lynch established was the Carmelite Monastery at Niagara Falls, Ont.

As above noted, the church of Our Lady of Peace was originally St. Edward's. Until 1858 it was not a separate parish, but was attended to from old Niagara; but in that year Father Juhel was appointed its first resident pastor; in that service he died, in 1862, and was buried beneath the church.

The consecration of the cataract to the Blessed Virgin of Peace followed the Papal grant of the privilege of pilgrimage to the Church of the Blessed Virgin, called Our Lady of Peace, overlooking the falls. "It was on the Sunday within the Octave of Our Lady's Assumption that the church was dedicated. Hundreds of pilgrims, after hearing mass in the city of Toronto, proceeded by steamer and railway to the shrine. And when they came back, at least upon the steamer, they chanted, with the sublime, perpetual voice of the cataract for basso, the Vespers of the Blessed Virgin; after which all knelt, with their faces toward Toronto, in adoration of the Blessed Sacrament, thanking the Redeemer, there present, for their preservation from all casualties during that, the first pilgrimage to Our Lady of Peace."¹

It was in October, 1875, that the parish of Our Lady of Peace was placed under the charge of the Fathers of the Order of Our Lady of Mt. Carmel, the most ancient Order in the Catholic Church. In the following April Archbishop Lynch issued the following Pastoral, which not only embodies sundry facts germane to the history we here trace—the peace aspect and attributes of Niagara falls—but is unique, in all the literature of Niagara, as a devout panegyric and appreciation of the phenomena there presented and of their spiritual application. His Grace's Niagara Pastoral is as follows:

1. Rev. Xavier Donald Macleod; "History of the Devotion to the Blessed Virgin Mary in North America," New York, 1866; pp. 319-320.

The cataract of Niagara yearly attracts thousands of lovers of sublimity and grandeur. They come to wonder, but few, alas, to pray. The place has been to us from childhood an object of the greatest interest. A picture of it fell into our hands,—we were awestruck with its beauty, and wished that we could adore God there. The vision of it haunted us through life. The providence of God at length conducted us to it, and almost miraculously provided the means near the Seminary of Our Lady of Angels in the diocese of Buffalo, N. Y. On our being appointed by the Holy See Bishop of Toronto it was our first care to secure on the Canada side of Niagara Falls a large tract of land on which to erect religious establishments, where God would be worshiped with a perfect homage of sacrifice and praise, and where the Catholic Church would be fittingly represented.

It was at the commencement of the American Civil War. Our heart was moved with sorrow at the loss of many lives, and the prospect of so many souls going before God in judgment, some, it is to be feared, but ill prepared. The beautiful rainbow that spanned the cataract, the sign of peace between God and the sinner, suggested prayers and hopes to see the war soon ended; and we called the church "Our Lady of Victories or of Peace." A convent was soon erected on the grounds, and nuns of the Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary, called of Loretto, were installed. This Order had its heroic beginnings in the reigns of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth of England. Ladies of noble birth fled to Bavaria to avoid death or the loss of religious rights in their own country. They formed a Religious Community, approved of by Clement XI., reëntered England towards the close of the last century, and subsequently came to Toronto on the invitation of its first bishop, the venerable and saintly Dr. Power. These good nuns, whilst not engaged in imparting a higher education to young ladies who assemble at the convent from all parts of the country, occupy their time in adoring God and contemplating His overflowing sweetness and bounty in the most blessed sacrament. Their chapel windows overlook the grandest

scene in the world, and holy thoughts and prayer arise to heaven as the spray ascends to form clouds that fertilize the earth with refreshing showers. The convent chapel is dedicated to the most blessed sacrament, in hopes that when the Community may be sufficiently numerous, it may keep up a perpetual adoration.

We have for many years searched for a fervent congregation of men to found a monastery and a church worthy of the place and its destination. Enthusiastic pilgrims of Nature's grandeur come here to enjoy its beauty; others, alas, to drown remorse. We desired to have a religious house where those pilgrims would be attracted to adore Nature's God in spirit and in truth, and who would there find, in solitude and rest, how great and merciful God is. The fathers of the Order of Our Lady of Mount Carmel, the most ancient in the Church, and dear to the heart of our Blessed Mother, have commenced this good work. Our Holy Father Pius IX. has been graciously pleased to confer upon the present little church indulgences and other favors granted to the most ancient pilgrimages of the old world. The fathers also propose, when a suitable house is built, to receive prelates and clergy of the Church as well as laity to make retreats; and to those priests, worn out in the service of their Divine Master, a home where they can quietly prepare for eternity. Missions will also be given in parishes by the religious at the request of the bishops.

A place more fitting for such an institution could hardly be found. God Himself has made the selection. It is easy of approach from all parts of the country, and on the confines of two great Nations. We have full confidence that God will finish His own good work by inspiring the hearts that love Him, and His Blessed Mother of Mount Carmel, to contribute to the erection of a church and monastery there. Those pious souls will lay up for themselves treasures in the bosom of God from which they will draw in their great need, when about to balance their accounts before His judgment seat.

Let us accompany the Christian soul in his religious pilgrimage at Niagara Falls. At first sight he will be

overawed by its grandeur, and stunned by its thunder; recovering, he will raise his heart to the God that created it, and will presently sink down into the depths of his own nothingness. For a while, he is completely absorbed, as if entranced; after a time, he gains on himself, and cries out, "*Domine, Dominus noster.*" Oh, Lord, Our Lord, how admirable is Thy name on earth! To speak now is irksome to him. His whole soul is filled with God, he wants to be alone. Tears, with an irresistible force, will relieve his heart, and he shall soon exclaim, "What, O Lord, is man, that Thou art mindful of him; or the son of man, that Thou shouldst visit him." He looks upon that broad, deep and turbulent volume of water, dashing over a precipice 160 feet in height and 2800 feet in its whole span, with a thunder echoed from the lake below with its mountain banks; and thinks of the awful power of Him who speaks in "the voice of many waters," and of his own last leap into eternity. In hope he raises his eyes and sees quietly ascending clouds formed from the spray, bridged in the center by a beautiful rainbow. Again he cries out: "Let my prayer ascend as incense in Thy sight. Let my last sigh be one of love, after making my peace with God and the world."

The water, as it sweeps over the fall, sinks deeply by its weight and momentum; and after gurgling, seething and foaming, rises again to the surface. One is reminded of that purification which takes place after death, and the troubles and agonies of the poor soul in the process of purification, to be cleansed before its rising to enjoy the brightness and glory of God's sweet countenance. The water of the lake below has also its warning lesson. It is solemn and still as death after a busy and turbulent life. Death holds many a deep secret of a good or an ill-spent life. He is aroused from his reverie by the shriek and noise of an engine, as it whirls on by the banks above, with its string of cars filled with the fashionable and gay, some intent on pleasure, others on gain. "Oh," he may say, "poor mortals, how long will you hunt after vanity and be in love with lies! In a few years you will be all

gone, and what will be the fate of your immortal souls for all eternity?"

Let us return with the pilgrim to the monastery, and rest a little, and from the windows of his temporary cell contemplate the rapids above the falls. It is morning. At the horizon, where the waters and the clouds appear to meet, all is calm and tranquil. Soon the river contracts; and peacefully running for awhile, it meets with ledges of rock, and dashing itself into foam and whirling eddies, forms hundreds of small waterfalls, which, catching the rays of the morning sun, appear as so many white crested billows of the sea after a storm. Joy and gladness are typified in those sparkling waves. Occasionally, tiny rainbows may be seen enamelling the brows of those miniature cataracts; and as innumerable bubbles fall, pearls and jewels are reflected in prismatic colors in the foam. In these are seen emblems of the morning of life, when candor, humility and loveliness portray the innocence of a happy soul basking in the sunshine of God's love. Everything now is gay and joyful, and bright with hopes of wealth and pleasure, and a long and happy life. The world presents itself in all those gorgeous colors that dazzle the imagination, but the time shall come when disappointments, sorrows and sickness will overtake him; a troubled and stormy life may be his lot; and he shall be, when the soul shall tremble on the precipice of eternity, awaiting to be ushered into the presence of his Maker. Then, indeed, will the pleasures and honors of the world appear as cruel mockeries, and sacrifices for Christ the only treasures worthy of man's toil. A day will arrive when this beauty will be changed. The unheeding Christian dwells on hopes of grandeur and wealth, and hurries from pleasure to pleasure until at length the soul, writhing in remorse, is launched into an unhappy eternity from which there is no returning.

On rainy days a great change comes over the whole scenery at the Falls. The atmosphere is gloomy and the clouds heavier here than elsewhere. The roar of the cataract, striking against the condemned atmosphere, booms like continuous distant thunder. The mind is wrapped in sol-

emn melancholy, and is brought to think of that pall of death which daily hangs over every one, the sinner and the saint. If a clap of thunder and a flash of lightning should add their terrors to the scene, the soul must be forcibly reminded of that awful day of judgment, and of the assembled children of Adam in the valley of Jehoshaphat, and of the questions: What hast thou done with many graces that I have given to thee, and where are the souls that you have scandalized and ruined, both by word and example?" When night comes on, the soul is wrapped, as it were, in its own winding sheet, and longs for some secure repose. How sweet and consoling it will be in those days of gloom to retire to the chapel of Our Lady of Peace, where the heart, though oppressed with sadness, yet raises itself up to God in hope for mercy, and cries for pardon and grace through the intercession of His Blessed Mother.

In the midst of the rapids are seen small islands covered with cedar and balsam trees sitting quietly in the sunshine, the waves dashing around them. The pilgrim may be reminded here of the soul strong in the grace of God and calm in the midst of the troubles of the world; and yet "in the floods of great waters they shall not come nigh unto him." (Psalm xxxii.) How many hearts, after having discharged their load of sin and sorrow in the tribunal of Penance, will look upon those islands of peace, and that rainbow of hope, and on the glorious scene around with eyes filled with tears of gratitude welling up from an humble and contrite heart! He will bless his merciful God, who, notwithstanding his many crimes, has put around him the robe of innocence, and on his finger the ring that should remind him of a father's love and of a son's gratitude and fidelity. Joy and hope will renew his youth. In this holy retreat of Niagara Falls many will find the road to heaven, and the true pleasure of serving God, and the real joy of having escaped the terrors of the world to come.

In winter time, also, the pilgrim will be taught sublime lessons. The trees and shrubs around are covered with ice, and myriads of glassy pendants hang from the branches, reflecting in dazzling brightness the rays of the

sun, and by night those of the moon. May he not consider a soul encircled by the beauty of God's graces, purchased for Him through the blood of Christ?

He will hear a crash. It is a branch of a tree that breaks down under its weight of icicles. Alas, how many souls break away from God, though highly favored with His special graces, and are never again engrafted on the vine that is Christ!

Again, may it not remind him of the death of the young, the beautiful, and the high-born, snatched away from the caresses of friends, the splendors of fortune, and laid low in the grave? The lunar bow by night will give him hopes that in the darkest hour of sin and sorrow God's mercy-seat is always approachable.

The cataract of Niagara has been well called "Nature's high altar": the water, as it descends in white foam, the altar-cloth; the spray, the incense; the rainbow, the lights on the altar. One must cry out: "Great is the Lord and admirable are His works! How great is Thy name through the whole world! Let us adore and love Him with our whole hearts and our whole souls."

As the pilgrim passes over one of the bridges that span the islands, he will see torrents of water rushing madly as it were from the clouds, the only background to be seen; and he is reminded of the cataracts of heaven opened, and the earth drowned on account of sin. Here the soul, overawed with terror, might exclaim: "Come, let us hide in the clefts of the rocks, in the wounds of Jesus Christ, from the face of an angry God."

New beauties are constantly discovering themselves at Niagara. The eye, wandering from beauty to beauty, compels the soul to salute its Maker, "as always ancient and always new."

The pilgrim may cast his mind back a few centuries, and consider the Indians, encamped around the Falls, telling the simple tales about the creation of the world, and adoring God in the twilight of their intelligences, in the best manner they could; and he might vividly portray the whole tribe preparing the most beautiful virgin for sacri-

fice. She is dressed in white, and placed in a white canoe, the father and mother, sisters and friends, bidding their last adieus and wetting her cheeks with tears as they placed her in the frail bark and shoved it off on the edge of the great precipice, that she might be a sacrifice of propitiation and sweet pleasure to the Great Spirit, to obtain pardon for the sins of her tribe, and good hunting. What sublime reflections will the recollections of this awful ceremony bring up!¹

God is great and powerful and just; but He is appeased with a sacrifice. "An humble and contrite heart, O Lord, Thou wilt not despise." The poor Indians must have heard of the great sacrifice which God always demanded as an acknowledgment of His sovereign dominion over the whole world, and of the sacrifices which He exacts on account of sin. Perhaps they heard of the great sacrifices of Adam and of Noah, Isaac and Jacob, and of the sacrifice of the Adorable Son of God. In their simple ignorance they wished to sacrifice something themselves; the young, pure and handsome virgin is their greatest treasure. She is sacrificed. She is sent over the Falls. They are all now dead and gone, and they are before the Great Spirit which they strove to worship, and perhaps would cry with David: "Recollect not, O God, our ignorance." May not

1. The sacrifice of an Indian maiden at Niagara is the most familiar legend conncted with the cataract. For the sake of a spiritual application Archbishop Lynch accepted it, as countless other writers, poets, and artists have accepted it. The present-day Senecas are familiar with it as a tradition; yet the present compiler is skeptical whether it is anything but white man's invention. Many of the ancient Iroquois or other aboriginal rites and ceremonies are known to us; a few of them relate to Niagara; but this sacrifice of the maiden is not found among them. The nearest approach to it the present writer has found, in records based on scientific research and not on imaginings, more or less poetic, is the Seneca legend of Hi-nun, the Thunder God of the Iroquois. This tells how an Indian maiden, to escape a distasteful marriage, leaped into her canoe and was borne over the cataract, but was caught on the wings of Hi-nun, God of Cloud and Rain, and carried to his abode in a cave behind the falls. She ultimately returned to her people and rendered them great service, for from the god she had learned of a monster snake which caused sickness. This snake was finally killed by Hi-nun, and his body floated down the Niagara. "As the weight of the monster pressed on the rocks they gave way and thus the Horseshoe form, that remains to this day, was fashioned." The curious reader will find the legend, at length, in the report of the Bureau of Ethnology, Smithsonian Institute, for 1880-81. In 1847 Schoolcraft gave a variant of this legend ("Notes on the Iroquois"), but neither he nor any other early writer, so far as noted, records the story of the maiden sacrifice.

the Christian soul here say to God: "I have been endowed with knowledge, and with wisdom, and with grace, and know that my Lord was offered in sacrifice for me; and I wish to make no sacrifice myself. I have sinned, and have not sacrificed my evil passions and worldly inclinations. Come, poor Indians, teach me your simplicity, which is better than my foolish wisdom."

Again, he will see a bird calmly and joyously flitting across this mighty chasm, looking down fearlessly on the scene below. It is in its native air; it has wings to soar. Thus the soul that is freed from sin has its wings also. It can look down with serenity upon the wreck of worlds, and in death it is placed in the midst of the storms of evil spirits, and when everything around is in fury and commotion, arises quietly towards its God to rest calmly in His embrace.

The Catholic Church, or, to speak more plainly, the sublime religious souls under her influence, always sought the most beautiful and romantic places to erect monasteries and churches to the service of God. Christ himself retired to the mountain to pray, and He sought the solitude of Thabor to manifest His glory, and Gethsemane to pour forth His sorrows into the bosom of His Father. The soul, withdrawn from the din and the noise and the bustle of this world, breaks from its tension and soars towards God. The fathers of the desert sought the wilderness and the mountain caves, there to adore their God. Our forefathers in the faith, also, peopled the islands in the Atlantic, erecting their monasteries in clefts overlooking the mighty ocean, where the monks sat and contemplated God in the fearful storms and in the raging waves that dashed over the rocks; and admired the works of His providence in the flight and screech of the ravens and gulls. In a storm they would imagine souls in distress, crying out, "Where is my God?" See them also on the islands of blessed Lough Erne. They beheld the serenity of the sky above, and the peaceful waters below, and were led to sweet and calm repose in God. Again, they sought the clefts of the mountains overlooking the smiling valleys, where they could feast their

eyes on the riches and beauties of God in the fertile fields below, and pity busy mortals in their incessant toil after the things that perish. Behold the lilies of the field, the birds of the air, God clothes and provides for all. He fills the soul that is empty of this world.

In Europe there are many sanctuaries, but few in this new world. Niagara will be one, and first of the most famous where God will be adored on the spot in which He manifests Himself in such incomparable majesty and grandeur. The festivals that will be most religiously celebrated in this sanctuary, besides the first-class festivals of the Church, are the 9th of July, called Our Lady of Miracles, or Peace; the 16th, Our Lady of Mount Carmel; 29th of September, the festival of St. Michael; 15th of October, St. Teresa; 21st of November, Presentation of the Blessed Virgin; and the 10th of December, festival of Our Lady of Loretto.

On May 16, 1892, Pope Leo XIII., to quote from a parish publication, "animated by a desire to increase the devotion to Our Blessed Lady of Mount Carmel, has by a special brief enriched the churches and chapels of the Carmelite Order with a precious privilege for their great feast, July 16th, the Feast of Our Lady of Mount Carmel." In order to endow this famous shrine of Our Lady of Peace with all the spiritual treasures possible, His Grace Archbishop McNeil of Toronto, on January 26, 1913, was pleased to make the main altar a "privileged altar," so that "in addition to the ordinary fruits of the Eucharistic Sacrifice, a plenary indulgence is also granted whenever Mass is celebrated thereon; and this indulgence is always applied to the person, living or deceased, for whom the Mass is offered."

This shrine, standing somewhat apart from the paths and places most frequented by tourists at Niagara, overlooks the Horseshoe fall and upper rapids. The little

church, plain and very modest in appearance, is enriched with good stained-glass windows. Close beside it is the burial-ground. A few steps distant, the monastery stands on the very verge of the high bank overlooking the great river. It is small, old and, save for a small library, contains only the most meager necessities for life and worship, for it is devoted to the use of a mendicant order. The peace that should guard such a retreat, though no doubt still there in a spiritual sense, was sadly intruded upon when a railroad cut its way through the grounds. But the Carmelite Fathers live for others; and the neighboring Hospice, a large modern building, serves not merely for religious retreat but as a guest-house for all who may come. Already ample, the plans contemplate great extension in the future. An adjoining farm of 200 acres is carried on by these Carmelites. Public pilgrimages are made to the shrine on July 16th, the Feast of Our Lady of Mount Carmel; and on August 15th, the Feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin (Lady Day).

A notable incident in the recent history of this church was the attendance there, on May 24, 1914, of the peace mediators from Argentina, Brazil and Chili, and the delegates appointed by Mexico and the United States to confer with them in behalf of peaceful relations between these republics. Niagara Falls, Ontario, had been selected for the Peace Conference because of its convenience. Gathered there by purely practical and political reasons, delegates and mediators found themselves on this Sunday morning of May, assembled for worship at a shrine specifically consecrated to Peace.¹

1. "That the Catholic Church has no boundary line, knows no frontier in her spiritual kingdom, but is at home in all the nations of the world, was demonstrated last Sunday morning in the humble little Chapel of Our Lady of Peace, Niagara Falls, Ont., when before the altar of a modest Canadian

shrine, in the domain of the British empire knelt Latin, Mexican, Saxon and Celt, representing the nations that own the two great Americas. It was the solemn peace mass, the only religious service which is universal, which through the ages has daily pronounced the Master's word *Dominus Vobiscum*, hence the one at which the distinguished envoys of the Governments desirous of peace in distracted Mexico could meet as brothers. Long before the hour set for mass, 11 o'clock, the envoys and delegates had taken the seats close to the altar, while back of them the pews were filled to their capacity with villagers and newspaper representatives of American and foreign journals.

"There was peace in the lovely Sunday morning sunshine and flower-perfumed air that blew across orchards in blossom and flower beds in bloom. An atmosphere of peace and religion surrounded the site of the famous little Carmelite shrine perched away up on the grass-covered cliff overlooking one of Nature's most sublime features, Niagara's cataract. Even the tiny graveyard at one side spoke of the peace that never ends. . . . The mass was a solemn high one and the sermon of considerable length, yet not a man present quitted his seat until the priests had left the altar, while the devotional behavior of the Catholic envoys and the respectful ones of the non-Catholics, were tributes to Christian belief, and the solemn duty each had undertaken, as members of the A B C mediation conference on the Mexican question.

"The Rev. B. J. O'Neill, O. C. C., was celebrant and Father Kehoe of St. Augustine Seminary, Toronto, and Father Vazza of the Carmelite Monastery, were deacon and sub-deacon. The Rev. George J. Krim, S. J., president of Canisius College, Buffalo, preached the peace sermon. . . ."—*Buffalo Catholic Union and Times*, May 28, 1914.

THE PEACE
MISSION TO NIAGARA
OF EPHRAIM DOUGLASS
IN 1783

THE NIAGARA PEACE MISSION

OF EPHRAIM DOUGLASS IN 1783

BY FRANK H. SEVERANCE

Throughout the whole period of the American Revolution, the Niagara region was not only British, but the scene of great activity, directed against the rebellious American colonists. Great Britain controlled the Great Lakes and all the Lake posts, using them as bases of supply for her Indian allies, on whom she placed great reliance in the border warfare.

Fort Niagara, throughout these years, held a varying but usually adequate garrison. Sometimes the number of troops there was large; and larger yet were the hordes of Indians who frequented the fort for food, clothing and ammunition; who camped, sometimes to the number of several thousands, in its vicinity; and who, with British sanction and often under British leadership, took the war-path from Fort Niagara, south, east, and west, to fall upon the American settlers on the Mohawk, the Susquehanna and throughout New York and Pennsylvania; to burn and destroy, to run off the stock, to kill and scalp, and to bring back over the old forest trails to Fort Niagara, hundreds of prisoners.

The British humored and favored the Indians, especially of the Six Nations, in order to hold their allegiance; and in this, save with a part of the Oneidas, they were success-

ful. Especially were the Senecas, the numerous, capable and warlike people of Western New York, their trusted allies. Not all of the Western tribes were so secure in British allegiance. To strengthen them in their friendship, there was not merely a lavish bestowal of supplies; but the commandants at the Lake posts made a point of informing the Indians, at councils and on other occasions, that if the Americans won in the war, the red man would be driven from his ancestral homes and hunting-grounds. It was no small part of the British policy during the years of the Revolution, especially in the region of the Great Lakes, firmly to implant this impression in the mind of the Indian.

In 1782, peace talk began to penetrate even as far as the banks of the Niagara; and the officers at the old fort had some word from the lower posts, of what was being done in the name of peace, in London.

It was on the 27th of February, 1782, that General Henry Seymour Conway moved in the British House of Commons, "that it is the opinion of this House that a further prosecution of offensive war against America would, under present circumstances, be the means of weakening the efforts of this country against her European enemies, and tend to increase the mutual enmity so fatal to the interests both of Great Britain and America." This resolution prevailed, and on March 4th we find the Commons adopting a resolution, "that the House will consider as enemies to His Majesty and the country, all those who should advise or attempt a further prosecution of offensive war on the continent of North America." A change of administration followed, new orders were sent to the commanding officers of the British forces in America, conforming to the new stand the nation had taken; and in May Sir Guy Carleton (Lord Dorchester) arrived in America, to

act, with Admiral Digby, as commissioner to negotiate a peace. It was not until September of the following year that a definitive treaty of peace was signed between Great Britain and the United States; the British garrisons at the Niagara and Lake posts in the meantime resting on their arms, and not a little perplexed at times to hold fast to the Indians, who did not fail to get some idea of the true state of affairs.

It was Pennsylvania that took the first steps leading to the Niagara peace mission of 1783.

The western part of that State was still harassed by Indian raids. On April 4, 1783, President John Dickinson sent to the Pennsylvania delegates in Congress, a communication in the name of the Council of Pennsylvania, setting forth that conditions in that State made it "indispensably necessary" that Congress should pay attention to Indian affairs. "We earnestly desire," wrote President Dickinson, "that you will use your utmost exertions in Congress, to prevail on that Honorable Body to adopt without loss of time, the most effectual measures for making Peace with all the Indian nations."

Congress gave characteristic deferment to the matter. Instead of anticipating the withdrawal of the British garrisons, and promptly taking steps for reassuring the Indians and inviting their friendship, it appears to have taken no action on the appeal from Pennsylvania. Being very much in earnest, the Council of Pennsylvania again addressed their delegates in Congress as follows:

IN COUNCIL, Pa., Apl. 29th, 1783.

Gentlemen: Council wrote to you some time ago, desiring that you would endeavour to have the most effectual measures speedily adopted by Congress for making Peace with the Indian nations. Having lately received

advices that about forty Inhabitants of this State have been killed and taken by them, & having good Reason to be assured, that the Hostilities will be continued along the Frontiers, we think it our Duty earnestly to repeat our Request.

Perhaps the United States might appear more respectable to those nations at a Treaty to be held with them after the Delivery of Niagara & Detroit to us by the British; but, in the meantime, we hope such steps may be taken, as may be the means of saving many lives, and preventing great Calamities.

We wish Congress would be pleased to consider, whether it might not have a good effect upon the Indians, to inform them by authority, that Peace has been made with Great Britain, the articles of which are now carrying into Execution; that the Back Country with all the Forts is thereby ceded to us; that they must now depend upon us for their Preservation and, that unless they immediately cease from their outrages, & remain quiet till we can hold a Treaty with them at Niagara or Detroit, we will instantly turn upon them our armies that have conquered the king of Great Britain, and now have us other Enemies to employ their Valour, and extirpate them from the Land where they were born and now live: But, that if they behave as they ought to do, they shall be treated not only justly, but friendly. Such Intelligence as this with the advance of a proper Reinforcement to Genl Irvine at Pittsburg, & the Exertions of the Troops under his Command, might put a stop to the cruelties of the savages, or at least prevent their becoming more extensive.

I am Gentlemen, with great Esteem and Regard

Your &c.,

J[OHN] D[ICKINSON]

Thus spurred up and reminded of its duty, Congress on May 1st adopted the following:

Resolved, That the Secretary at War take the most effectual measures to inform the several Indian nations, on

the frontiers of the United States, that preliminary Articles of Peace have been agreed on, and hostilities have ceased with Great Britain, and to communicate to them that the forts within the United States, and in possession of the British troops, will speedily be evacuated; intimating also that the United States are disposed to enter into friendly treaty with the different tribes; and to inform the hostile Indian nations, that unless they immediately cease all hostilities against the citizens of these states, and accept of these friendly proffers of peace, Congress will take the most decided measures to compel them thereto.

This resolution was at once transmitted to General Washington, and to the commissioners for Indian affairs; and the Secretary of War—Major General Benjamin Lincoln—appointed Ephraim Douglass to visit the western tribes and make known to them the peaceful disposition of the United States, if they would cease all hostilities towards its citizens.

It was on this errand that Ephraim Douglass came to the Niagara; the first avowed emissary of Peace in the region since the pioneer French missionary priests, more than a century before, had preached the gospel of Peace and Good Will to distrustful and uncomprehending savages.

The man who was thus charged with the first message of peace ever sent by the United States as a sovereign Power to the Indians was of a striking and interesting personality. Ephraim Douglass was born, probably in one of the Southern states, about 1749. We find him in Pittsburg, as early as 1769, employed at the fort. "He was a carpenter by occupation, but was fairly well educated in English and acted as clerk, blacksmith, gunsmith, stone-mason, bookkeeper, scrivener and shopkeeper.¹ He engaged in the

1. C. M. Burton, "Ephraim Douglass and his Times."

Indian trade, and mastered several Indian dialects sufficiently to act as interpreter. It is recorded that on one of his trading trips into the Indian country, his canoe was overturned in deep water and he was nearly drowned. Upon reaching the shore he was so exhausted he could not proceed; and supposing he must die there in the wilderness, he wrote on a piece of bark what he thought would be his last words:

I have lived doubtful, but not dissolute. I die determined, but not unresigned.

E. DOUGLASS.

His time, however, had not yet come. Recovering from this mishap, he seems to have continued in the Indian trade until the outbreak of the Revolution. In September, 1776, he was appointed by Congress quartermaster of the 8th Pennsylvania regiment. In January the regiment marched through the snow from Western Pennsylvania to Brunswick, N. J. Here Douglass became aide-de-camp to General Lincoln. Taken prisoner by the British, at Bound Brook, April 13, 1777, he was held until Nov. 27, 1780, though he may have been paroled somewhat earlier. It is said¹ to be a tradition in his family that when Douglass was a prisoner on one of the British prison-ships, and after his repeated attempts to be exchanged had failed, he one night dropped overboard and swam ashore to freedom. He returned to Pittsburg as a lieutenant, having been promoted during his imprisonment.²

1. Burton, "Douglass and his Times," p. 11.

2. Washington wrote to Major-General Lincoln, Oct 25, 1777:

"I observe by the terms of General Burgoyne's capitulation, that an exchange of prisoners may probably take place; if so, the number of officers taken in his army will liberate all ours. In that case, Mr. Douglass, your aide-de-camp, will soon be redeemed. But if this exchange shall not take place, you may depend that Mr. Douglass shall be called for as soon as it becomes his turn; for I have made it an invariable rule to give a preference to those who have been longest in captivity."

In the winter of 1781 he appears—from various references in correspondence of the time—to have been employed on a Government mission among the Indians; a hazardous undertaking in any event, as the region of the Ohio and the Lakes was the enemy's country. His experience fitted him for the important mission later to be confided to him.

Major Douglass was at Princeton, N. J., when he received word from General Lincoln that he had been named for an important peace mission. His commission for this duty which bears date, "War Office, May 3d, 1783," is in some respects a singular document. After reminding him that as "messenger to the several Indian Nations on the Frontiers of the United States"—that is, in the vicinity of Lakes Erie and Ontario—he was to "conform to the instructions laid down in the resolve of Congress," it continues:

You will announce to the diff. Tribes the Proclamation of Congress and the Articles of Peace, and you will verbally inform the Indians that the British King has been compelled to agree to make peace with the United States, that he has fixed the Boundaries between his People and the People of the United States, that he has agreed to evacuate and deliver up to the United States the Forts O——, N——, D——,¹ and all other Forts occupied by him to the Southward of the line agreed upon between his people and the people of the United States.

That all the Tribes and Nations of Indians who live to the S—— and W——² of the line agreed on, must no longer look to the King beyond the Water, but they must now look to the great Council, the C——³ of the United States at Philadelphia.

That the Great Council of the U. S. regret that the Indians did not pay due attention to the advice which was

1. Oswego, Niagara, Detroit.

2. South and West.

3. Congress.

given to them at Albany at the beginning of the late quarrel, as if they had listened to that advice they might have lived in Peace during the War, and would at this time have been exempt from all its ill consequences. In making this intimation you will point out to the Indians the great losses which they have suffered, and the calamities which they have brought upon themselves by their espousal of the cause of G. B. You will then inform them that the U. S. are a compassionate and merciful people—that they are disposed to pity the I——¹ and to forgive their past folly, on condition that they immediately desist from further hostility, and hereafter conduct themselves as a people disposed to Enjoy the blessings of Peace which are now extended to them. But if they hesitate to accept the friendship which is now offered to them, or continue hostilities, they must expect that the U. S. who have now no other object to employ the Valour of their Warriors, will take the most severe and exemplary vengeance of the Indians.

That however they hope there will be no occasion to use threats or proceed to extremities. That the I—— must see it is their interest, and essential to their happiness to live in peace with the U. S., and as the U. S. are disposed to enter into friendly treaty with them, they should immediately put a stop to all hostilities, call in their Warriors, assemble their Council of Wise Men, and appoint some of them to meet the Commiss'rs of the U. S. at a place to be agreed on, there to agree upon a treaty of Peace and Friendship.

“As the business of your mission will be facilitated,” continues this commission, “by taking with you the Emblems of Peace, you will endeavor to procure all such as may be required in your interviews.” Whether these were to be olive branches, or the calumet, is not specified. He was charged to reach Detroit as soon as his “necessary communications on the road” would admit. General Lincoln wrote further: “Mr. Bull is charged with a similar com-

1. Indians.

mission to the Indians at Oswego and Niagara, but in case of accident to him, you will, if you should find it necessary, make the like communications to those tribes; in which case, I think you had better return by Albany." The Mr. Bull referred to has not been identified by the present writer. From allusions in the correspondence he appears to have visited Niagara;¹ but whatever the form of his message the real peace mission later devolved on Major Douglass. With repeated admonitions to be expeditious and economical, General Lincoln assured the peace emissary: "I wish you an agreeable accomplishment of your business."

Thus sped, Ephraim Douglass departed from Princeton, May 3d, and hastened to Pittsburg, where he applied to General William Irvine, commanding at Fort Pitt, for articles necessary for the rough journey that lay ahead of him. He received two horses, a saddle, three blankets, 100 pounds of flour, 40 pounds of bacon and a quart of salt. A third horse was elsewhere procured, and some other articles from the public stores. On June 7th Douglass set forth into the wilderness. With him were Captain George McCully, a servant and two friendly Indians as guides. It was an unimposing embassy in the cause of peace, and a feeble one. In case of hostile attack, they could have made but slight resistance.

1. April 14, 1783, Washington wrote to Colonel Marinus Willet:

"Official accounts of the happy conclusion of a Peace have been transmitted by Sir Guy Carleton to General Haldimand at Quebec by his officers who passed thro' this place a few days since, but as a very considerable time must elapse before these Gentlemen can arrive at Quebec and the news be communicated from thence to the British posts in the upper country, and as humanity dictates that not a moment should be lost in endeavoring to prevent any further incursions of the Indians (who it is said have already struck at Wyoming), I have thought it proper to write to General McLean, commanding the British Force in that quarter, and to enclose to him the King of Great Britain's Proclamation for cessation of Hostilities, and this letter I must direct you to forward to him at Niagara by some trusty Indian runner with all possible expedition—the expense attending this business shall be repaid on your informing me of it.

"You will at the same time, give orders to the troops and Indians under your command to forbear all Acts of Hostility against the troops of his Britannic Majesty other than for their own immediate defence."

Their mission was, to pass through the Indian country to Detroit and proceed thence to Niagara Fort and Oswego; at each place to assemble the Indians, inform them of the action of Congress, and by fair words incline them to friendship with the United States. The time-honored method of winning Indian friendship—by the lavish bestowal of presents—was not to be resorted to.

Riding, or sometimes painfully walking, through what is now the State of Ohio, they made their way by the old trading-path, and sometimes with no path at all, to Sandusky and thence to Detroit, which post was reached July 4th—the seventh anniversary of the birth of the United States of America. The journey thither has been exhausting, for heavy rains had fallen, the many streams which they had to ford, or swim, were swollen; and on at least one occasion, the travelers were lost, and after a day's wanderings found themselves at the place whence they had set out in the morning. There had been some intercourse with the tribes of the region, but as many of the chiefs had been summoned to Detroit by the British, much less was accomplished by the emissaries of the United States, in their journey through the Ohio wilderness, than had been hoped for.

The important British posts of Detroit and Fort Niagara were at this time entrusted to two very capable and zealous officers.

Commanding at Detroit was Colonel Arent Schuyler De Peyster, of a family famous in New York history since Johannes De Peyster, founder of the line in America, had settled there about 1685. Arent, the great-grandson of Johannes, was born in New York City, in 1736. Entering the British army—the Eighth Foot—in 1755, his service antedated the conquest of Canada. During the Revolution

he had various employment, but the most useful to his King was as commandant at Detroit, where his great influence with the Indians held them to the British cause.

Commanding at Fort Niagara was Brigadier General Allan MacLean, who had served with Wolfe at Quebec, and had defended that stronghold from Arnold and Montgomery in 1775. That he was not lacking in devotion to the British cause, will be seen as our narrative proceeds.

Major Douglass and his companion were courteously received by Colonel De Peyster, to whom the message of the Secretary of War was delivered. De Peyster professed the strongest desire of bringing about peaceful relations between the United States and the Indian tribes; "declared," wrote Major Douglass, in his subsequent report, "that he would willingly promote it all in his power; but that until he was authorized by his Superiors in Command, he could not consent that any thing should be said to the Indians relative to the boundary of the United States; for though he knew from the King's Proclamation that the war with America was at an end, he had had no official information to justify his supposing the States extended to this place, and therefore could not consent to the Indians' being told so; especially as he had uniformly declared to them, that he did not know these Posts were to be evacuated by the English."

On the following day Major Douglass again called on the commandant, and begged permission to speak to the Indians, pledging his word to say nothing respecting the limits of the States, "but to confine myself to the offer of Peace or choice of War, and the Invitation to Treaty." Colonel De Peyster could not be moved, and even sent word to Major Douglass through Captain McKee, that it was his

wish the American should proceed to Niagara, as soon as he had recovered from the fatigue of his journey.

Notwithstanding so direct a hint, Major Douglass was invited, on the 6th, to a council which Colonel De Peyster held with the Indians. There were assembled the chiefs of eleven Indian nations; it was just the opportunity which had been sought by the United States Government; yet the peace emissary was not allowed to address them. Colonel De Peyster himself read to them a letter from the Secretary of War, advised them to live in peace with the people of the United States, and warned them that he could not in the future give them any assistance against the Americans. With this Major Douglass had to be content. That night he wrote to General Irvine at Fort Pitt as follows:

DETROIT, July 6, 1783.

DEAR SIR: For the purpose of writing to the honorable, the Secretary at War, as well as to give you the information of my safe arrival at this place, I have caused Mr. Elliott to return by the nearest way to your post; and am happy in communicating to you that, though I have not been able to answer entirely the expectations of the public, I have found the Indians highly disposed, from the pains which had been taken with them before my arrival, to cease from further hostilities against the inhabitants of the United States, provided that, on their part, they [the latter] show the same disposition to avoid the offer of every cause of just complaint, and particularly to confine themselves to that side of the [Ohio] river, which neither prudence nor the laws of the country forbid their entrance.

I expect to depart tomorrow for Niagara, where I am encouraged to hope such instructions will shortly arrive as that the officer commanding the district will find duty and inclination conspire to promote and effectuate the business of my mission. At present, the want of official information induces Colonel De Peyster, the gentleman commanding here, to think it incompatible with his duty, as it is repug-

nant to his opinion, to suffer the message of the United States to be delivered before he is possessed of such authenticated accounts of the treaty as will justify his concurrence with me.

Exclusive of the reasons I have already mentioned, I have yet another which I am very earnest to make known to you: The possibility that curiosity—the desire of visiting their relations or the confidence of an hospitable reception—might lead some of the Indians to Fort Pitt, while our reception in their country was still unknown—and that some injury might, in consequence, be offered to them by an unthinking populace—all bid me wish to advertise you of their friendly disposition, from the opinion that you will see the justice and necessity of affording them protection and suitable assistance. In this case, I am well assured that whatever humanity and good policy could suggest, you would order to be done, if our *fate* was *not* so intimately connected with theirs. Let me beg that you will excuse the liberty of offering to trouble you with the enclosed.

I am with great respect and esteem, Dear Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,

EPHRAIM DOUGLASS.

Major Douglass and Captain McCully embarked at Detroit on the morning of July 7th under British escort and sailed down Lake Erie to the Niagara. No record is found offering details of the voyage or even the name of the vessel. They arrived at Fort Niagara on the 11th, where Major Douglass presented his credentials to Brigadier General MacLean, and was courteously received, but was requested to wait until the following day before taking up any business.

In the meantime, there had been an interchange of letters between the commandants at Niagara and Detroit, and the Commander in Chief, General Haldimand at Quebec, which show, better than any official report, their true attitude towards the peace embassy. While Douglass and

McCully were voyaging down Lake Erie, General MacLean dispatched the following letter to Colonel De Peyster:

NIAGARA, 8th July, 1783.

SIR: I am favored with your letter of the 29th June, enclosing the copy of a Letter from Ephriam Douglas [*sic*] to Capt. Elliott of the Indian Dept. Ephriam is a suspicious name, I therefore am glad you have sent to bring him in to Detroit, for we really cannot be too much on our guard against these designing knaves, for I do not believe the world ever produced a more deceitful or dangerous set of men than the Americans: and now they are become such Arch-Politicians by eight years practice, that were old Matchioavell¹ alive, he might go to school to the Americans to learn Politics more crooked than his own; we therefore cannot be too cautious.

It is something very extraordinary that Mr. Douglas should attempt to assemble the Indians under your nose, and even write for one of your own principal Indian Managers to come & wait upon him with one of your Interpreters, without taking the least notice of you. I should apprehend his first step ought to have been to come to Detroit and produce his Credentials to you. The Americans being now Independent States will say, they have a right to send Ambassadors or Emissaries to whom they please, without our consent—no doubt they may to all nations that we know of but in the present case, with respect to our Indians, I am of a different opinion, it being clearly an exception to the Rule. The Indians get this day from the King's Stores the bread they are to eat tomorrow, and from his magazines the clothing that covers their nakedness; in short, they are not only our allies, but they are a part of our Family; and the Americans might as well (while we are in possession of these Posts) attempt to seduce our children & servants from their duty and allegiance, as to convene and assemble all the Indian Nations, without first communicating their intentions to His Majesty's Representative in Canada. These are my sentiments, and I shall not alter

1. Machiavelli.

them till I am otherwise instructed by the Commander in Chief; and if any such person as Ephriam Douglas comes to assemble the Six Nations I shall certainly bring him in here & keep him till I send for Instructions to General Haldimand.

Mr. Douglas must be a curious fellow truly, in writing to Capt. Elliott that he may assure the Indians, that what they have received from any other Quarter, but through him is without the sanction or authority of the United States. He does not know then, that I had a Letter from General Washington¹ on that subject, and another Letter from General Lincoln, President of the Board of War of the United States, wrote by the express order of Congress—His ignorance of these matters would make me imagine that he is an arch imposter.

I have the honor to be with regard, Sir,

Your most humble and most obedient servant

ALLAN MACLEAN.

To Lieut. Col. DE PEYSTER.

The next day General MacLean made report in the matter to General Haldimand, in part as follows:

NIAGARA, 9th July, 1783.

SIR: Herewith I have the honor to transmit to your Excellency the copy of a Letter I received from Major De Peyster together with the copy of a Letter wrote by one Ephriam Douglas [*sic*]. Mr. Douglas' Letter explains itself so fully that I need not trouble your Excellency by saying anything about it. I wrote to Major De Peyster yesterday on the subject of Mr. Douglas' mission, and I herewith enclose a copy of my letter to Major De Peyster for your Excellency's Perusal, in hopes that you may approve of my sentiments on the subject; and that if on the contrary you should disapprove of my ideas that you

1. No letter from Washington to General MacLean is found in the published collections of Washington's correspondence. Washington wrote repeatedly, to many people, on the subject of American occupation of the Lake posts. His attempt to send General Steuben to the Lake posts, and General Haldimand's refusal, are familiar to students.

will send me instructions how to act, for I really confess the present conduct of the Americans is very new to me, and that I am at a loss how to treat people that act in so uncommon a manner, at the same time, I am fully determined to act in the manner I have mentioned to Major De Peyster, till I have the good fortune to receive your Excellency's farther orders how I am to act with this impudent people. There is little doubt but the Delaware Indians that came to Cadaragows, are come at the request of Mr. Ephriam Douglas—at least I suspect that to be the case. . .

Major Douglass and his companion were comfortably quartered at Fort Niagara—he says they were “received with every mark of attention.” The events of the next few days are best told in his own words, taken from his report to the Secretary of War, and by letters of the British officers. To General Lincoln, Secretary of War, Major Douglass reported:¹

In the morning [July 12] I waited again on the General at his request. He asked for my Instructions which I produced, and afterwards, at his request, the Resolve of Congress alluded to. He expressed an earnest desire that the Indians should live in peace with the United States, declared that he had most effectually put a stop to all hostilities, and had already given you this Information; that he would be answerable for their future good conduct provided they were not molested by us—regretted that he had not at present such information from below as would justify his concurring with me, or even permitting me to call the Indians together—that he had every reason to expect Sir John Johnson very soon, who he supposed would bring such instructions as would remove every difficulty,—that however he considered the purport of my message anticipated by the pains which had been taken to dispose the Indians to peace, which appeared to be the grand object to Congress.

1. Report dated “Princeton, 18th August, 1783.” The principal part of it is included in our narrative.

In case Sir John did not arrive in two or three days as he expected, he proposed to me the alternative of continuing downward to the Commander in Chief or of furnishing him with Copies of my Instructions and the Resolve of Congress which he would transmit to him for his orders thereon. He lamented that mischievous people among us took too much pains to alarm the minds of the Indians in this quarter, by inventing and propagating speeches, which the Indians were taught to believe came from persons in power among the Americans. In proof of this he produced the proceedings of a Council lately held with the Indians, which contains an alarming speech said to have been sent to them by General Schuyler. At my request he gave me a Copy of it with his own remarks at the bottom.

In consequence of this speech and his assurances to the Indians the Six Nations had sent to that part of the Oneida Tribe which had remained in the interest of the States, forbidding them to bring any future messages, but such as were written or otherwise visible in Belts or Strings. That they would be glad to hear in this manner whatever the United States had to say to them.

Colonel Butler, the Superintendent at the post, was sent for and corroborated everything that the General said of the peaceable disposition of the Indians, unless they were compelled to the contrary conduct by the Americans seizing on their Lands, which both asserted the Six Nations would never quietly submit to. They recommended the measure of Congress sending some person to give them assurances respecting their Lands, if it was their intention to leave them to the natives, and the General offered to promote it with all his Interest, to be answerable for the safety of the Commissioners and also engage for the Indians' good behaviour and willingness to meet the Commissioners of Congress at any place after receiving such assurance.

Captain Brant came from the Mohawk Village to see me and was introduced by the General, in whose presence we had a conversation on the subject of the Indians' Lands. Brant insisted that they would make a point of having them secured before they would enter into any farther or other

Treaty. In the evening I had a private conference with him at his own request in which I explained to him in the most circumstantial manner every thing relating to my business with the Indians and had a good deal of friendly argument with him on the subject, too long to insert here.

On the evening of the 13th, I received a note from the General requesting a Copy of my Instructions &c., to send to the Commander in Chief to facilitate business. I sent him word that he should be obeyed, and early in the morning began to execute my promise, but before I had finished copying them, I received a verbal message that he wished to see me at his quarters. I finished the Copies and waited on him with them.

Brigadier General MacLean's letter was as follows:

Brigadier Genl MacLean presents his compliments to Mr. Douglass, and Capt McCully, & requests the favor of their company to dinner to-morrow at three O'Clock. A verbal message by the Servant will be sufficient.

The Brigadier will be much obliged to Mr. Douglass, if he will be so good as to send him to-morrow a copy of his instructions & of the resolve of Congress to be transmitted to the Commander in Chief in Canada to facilitate business.

Sunday Evening, 13th July, 8 O'Clock.

The Commandant's quarters were usually—possibly always, until a much later period than we are considering—in the old stone building at Fort Niagara erected by the French in 1726-'7, and variously spoken of as the old mess-house, or the castle. Here it was, doubtless, within these storied walls, in apartments already rich with associations, that Brigadier MacLean received our emissaries of peace for three o'clock dinner on Monday, July 14th. Major Douglass' report continues:

He informed me that he had sent for me to show me the Copy of a Letter he was writing to Colonel De Peyster. It contained instructions to that Gentleman in consequence of

my representations of the murders committed by the Western Indians in the course of the last Spring, and since by his account, they had been positively forbid to be guilty of any such outrage. He pressed Colonel De Peyster very earnestly to examine minutely into this affair; to forbid the Indians in the most positive manner to be guilty of such future misconduct; to order them to deliver up immediately such prisoners as they had captured through the spring into the hands of himself or his officers, and further to tell them that if they did not desist from these practices the British Troops would join the Americans to punish them.

He afterwards read me the Copy of a Letter which he had written you in answer to yours by Mr. Bull. Not doubting that this Letter is in your possession, I only mention it as it was the introduction to an address to me containing the same sentiments, which ended in an intimation that I might return home as soon as I thought proper; that whenever I pleased he would furnish me with a Boat & men to carry me to Oswego, would afford me every other assistance in his power and write to Major Ross the Commandant at that place to give me every assistance I should require.

I soon concluded that this invitation to leave the place arose from the importunacy of the Indians to hear publicly the message which my coming had promised them, and his refusing permission to Captain Brant to take me on a visit to the Mohawk Castle convinced me of the justice of this conclusion.

I employed such arguments as I expected would be most likely to prevail on him to permit me to speak to the Chiefs publicly before my departure, and answered (as I thought) all his objections, one of which was to that part of my instructions which said the King had been compelled to make peace, which he said would convey to the Indians the Idea of his being conquered, and might induce them to an insolence of behaviour that would become disagreeable to him and perhaps injurious to the service. To remove every exception on this head I offered to suppress the word "compelled," but he avoided giving me any direct answer to this proposal; insisted much on the pacific disposition of the

Indians, again pledged himself for their behaviour; assured me of their desire to cultivate the friendship of the Americans, and declared that he was authorized by the Chiefs to tell me so. He then informed me that previous to my arrival the Chiefs had applied to him to write to his Excellency General Washington on their behalf with offers of friendship, and regretted that he had not such orders as would justify him in doing it, especially before the Superintendent General had made the proper communications to the Indians on the part of the Crown.

Frustrated in every attempt to obtain a public audience with the Indians at Fort Niagara, Major Douglass was still persistent in his efforts to execute his mission and receive an answer from the Indians which could be communicated to the War Department. To this end, two days after his dinner with the Commandant, Major Douglass addressed to him the following letter:

NIAGARA, 16th July, 1783.

SIR: After having already so fully communicated to you my instructions from the Secy at War, the Resolve of Congress whereon they are founded, my wishes in obedience to these instructions & my earnest desire of having an opportunity of communicating them to the Chiefs of the Indian Nations, a repetition of any part thereof would now be as useless as improper; but that my character may be defended from the imputation of irresolution, negligence or want of alacrity in the execution of my duty, I take the liberty to request that you would favor me in writing with your reasons for declining to suffer me to assemble the Chiefs, and to make known to them the message I am charged with by the United States: and from the personal civilities I have already received, as well as from my opinion of your character, I flatter myself you will readily grant me this request.

I am, with all possible respect, Sir, Your most Obed.
Servant

EPHRAIM DOUGLASS.

Hon'ble Brigr Genl MACLEAN, Commandr at Niagara.

To this reasonable and respectful request, General MacLean replied promptly and fully, as follows:

NIAGARA, 16th July, 1783.

SIR: I am favored with your letter of this date, in answer to which, I am to inform you that it is my wish, & ought to be that of every honest man, to promote friendship, cordiality and reconciliation between the subjects of Great Britain and the citizens of the United States; and that I shall for my part always follow that rule.

You, Sir, have been so obliging as to deliver me a copy of your Instructions together with the Resolve of Congress, upon which they are founded, & I should have been happy to have had it in my power to comply with your wishes; but circumstanced as I am in a subaltern station it was out of my power, until I had received the orders of the Commander in Chief. My sentiments on that head, I had the honour to communicate to General Lincoln, Secretary at War to the United States, by a letter dated 16th of May, last. An additional reason that weighed greatly with me, and rendered it impossible for me to admit the publication of your instructions, was, that part of them were conceived in terms that I judged to be unnecessary, if not improper, and must have been a reflection on any British Officer that would give his consent to their being published.

I apprehend Congress to be acquainted with the situation in which I stand with respect to Indians. There are 3,000 of them victualled here daily; these, in fact, are a part of this Garrison, as to provision & cloathing—and the impression that the communicating your instructions to them would (in my opinion) bring on disputes that might be disagreeable to the service & the troops under my command, & for which I should be justly blamed, till I had received the sanction of the Commander in Chief.

The pacific disposition of the United States to the Indian Nations, I communicated to them, when I received Gen'l Lincoln's letter, & I shall repeat it by the Superintendent immediately. You are now acquainted with the pacific disposition of the Indians & I can assure you, there

is nothing they wish for with greater anxiety, than peace and friendship with the United States. They have for some time past been greatly alarmed at the several severe messages said to be sent them from Albany, but I have endeavored to quiet their apprehensions on that score.

I cannot conclude without declaring, that in my humble opinion Congress could not have employed any Man better qualified than yourself for carrying on a negotiation with the Indian Nations & I greatly lament for the reasons I have mentioned, that it is out of my power to act otherwise than I have done, until I have the authority of my superiors, which I shall transmit by a flag of Truce to the State of New York, the moment I receive them.

I have the honor to be &c

ALLAN MACLEAN.

To EPHRIAM DOUGLAS,¹ *Esqr.*

Major Douglass and his companion set out on the same day these letters were written, by boat, for Oswego. The conveyance was furnished by General MacLean, from whom, wrote the Major in his subsequent report, "I have experienced every species of polite attention, except that which duty as well as inclination bid me most wish for, and every civility from his officers, and from the officers in general at all the Posts I had occasion to visit." One can but regret that he did not commit to writing some account of the appearance and state of buildings, fortifications and general strength of garrison, at the very interesting period of his visit. Nothing of the kind is known. He departed under the friendly escort of a sergeant and seven soldiers from the post; and as the sturdy Canadian boatmen rowed him swiftly to the eastward, skirting the high banks of Lake Ontario, he must have looked back at the vanishing walls of Niagara with a regretful sense of having come on an ineffective and frustrated errand. Nor did his visit to

1. Gen. MacLean consistently misspells both names.

Oswego prove any more satisfactory. His report to the War Department, already quoted from, concludes as follows :

Sensible how difficult it is to say just enough on any subject, I am afraid I have protracted this report to too great a length, and yet I suppressed so many remarks and conversations which were interesting at the time, that I am also afraid I have not been sufficiently explicit. I have confined myself to bare recital, without any commentary of my own, to avoid the imputation of obtruding opinion where it might be considered my duty to relate facts existing abstractedly. But I will hope your forgiveness for saying that the assiduity of the British Commanders to restrain the Indians from hostilities still wanted the visit which by your command I have made them, to satisfy the Indians that they had nothing to fear from the enmity of the States. They are now convinced from my risking such a journey through their Country and from the communications I have made to them individually on my way not only of our friendly Sentiments toward them, but also of our confidence in theirs, which must in some degree beget a similar confidence in them. And though I bring no public answer from the Chiefs, owing to the motives of duty or policy which opposed it, I think myself sufficiently authorized from the many opportunities I had of learning their Sentiments, both from themselves and the Whites who are in their confidence, to assert that I know them to be heartily tired of the war and sincerely disposed to Peace.

The day after the peace emissaries had departed from Fort Niagara, Commandant MacLean sent the following report of their visit to General Haldimand, the Commander in Chief :

NIAGARA, 17th July, 1783.

SIR: I have the honor herewith to transmit to your Excellency Copies of two Letters from Major De Peyster, which letters will inform you of the Proceedings of the Major, respecting the Commissioners of Congress of the Indian Nations.

On the Evening of the 10th these Commissioners arrived here, where they were treated with every kind of civility and freedom, excepting that of communicating their Instructions to the Six Nations, that being a matter beyond my reach, without first having your Excellency's orders. Indeed the nature of these Instructions was such, as in my humble opinion, rendered them improper to be communicated to the Six Nations, while we remain in the Possession of the Upper Posts, Except your Excellency should order the contrary.

Mr. Douglass appears to be a shrewd sensible man, but he has conducted himself while here with Propriety; yet I found it would be impossible, to detain him and his companion here, to wait for your Excellency's Instructions, or the arrival of Sir John Johnson (as either of these events were uncertain) without their having opportunities of frequent intercourse with the Indians, as Mr. Douglass speaks several different dialects of the Indian Nations, and notwithstanding all my attention Captain Brant had a conversation with them, but it was of his seeking and not theirs; I therefore found it necessary to let them go, after remaining here six days, & I sent a Batteau with a serjeant & seven men of the Kings & 34th to conduct them to Oswego, sober good men; they went off Perfectly contented with their reception here. I also enclose for your Excellency's Information a copy of Mr. Douglass' Instructions and also the copy of a Resolve of Congress upon which these Instructions are founded, & I request that I may honored be with your commands, to direct me how I am to act. I had some conversation with Mr. Douglass, and he candidly confessed, that part of his instructions had much better been omitted; I had almost told him they were insolent; but I thought it was best to be moderate.

Mr. Douglass & his companion Capt. McCully left this on the 16th at one o'clock. At Twelve I received a Letter from him, and at one I sent him an answer. Copy of his Letter, with my answer, I have the honor to transmit to your Excellency. Had I proposed to these Commissioners to go to Canada I am convinced they would have accepted

of the offer, but I did not think it was proper or necessary at this time to give your Excellency that trouble, as they had no authority for that purpose.

Upon the whole I have endeavoured to act in this Business as I thought best for His Majesty's Service and I am not without hopes that both Major De Peyster's conduct and my own, will meet with your Excellency's approbation.

I have the honor to be most respectfully your Excellency's most obedient and most Humble Servant,

ALLAN MACLEAN.

To General HALDIMAND.

One other letter may conclude the documentary portion of our story:

NIAGARA, 19 July, 1783.

SIR: In my letter of the 17th I had the honor to transmit to your Excellency Copies of all the correspondence that passed between Major De Peyster & myself and Captain Douglass, the Commissioner of Congress to the Indian Nations; but omitted to enclose for your Perusal the copy of a Letter from General Lincoln to Major De Peyster. Mr. Douglass also gave me a Paper containing the names of Prisoners taken by the Western Indians, since the beginning of last April, and some of them so late as the 20th May taken from Westmorland County, Pensilvania, copy of that Paper I have the honor to enclose.

Mr. Douglass told me that it was chiefly on account of these late outrages that Congress sent him into the Indian Country, that the State of Pensilvania had made a Law making it felony for any of their Inhabitants to cross the Ohio. Copy of the names of Prisoners lately taken I have sent to Major De Peyster, & I have requested that he would endeavour to recover these Prisoners from the Indians, and to use every means & method in his Power to restrain the Indians, and to tell them that it will be impossible for your Excellency to assist them or Protect them, if they do not

follow your advice in keeping quiet and not to go to war, as Peace is now made. . . .

I have the honor to be, [etc.]

ALLAN MACLEAN.

To General HALDIMAND.

Major Douglass returned to Princeton, where he prepared his report to the Secretary of War, bearing date of August 18th. In October at Philadelphia, he wrote to Congress, asking an allowance to pay for his service. After a second request was made, the payment of \$500 was authorized. General Douglass never applied for payment of this amount, probably because he considered it too paltry a sum for the services he had performed; but E. Douglass King, a grandson of General Douglass writes: "I was with my mother in Pittsburgh in 1854, when she received the money, 71 years after it was ordered paid."¹

While serving as peace commissioner, the military rank held by Ephraim Douglass appears to have been that of major. He subsequently held various offices in the new county of Fayette, Pa.; was prothonotary, Judge of Common Pleas, clerk of the Court of Quarter Sessions, and clerk of the Orphans' Court. For many years he resided at Uniontown, in the vicinity of which he owned so much real estate that he became "land-poor." In 1789 he was appointed agent for forfeited estates; and when the excise troubles of Western Pennsylvania, known as the Whiskey Rebellion, came to a crisis, he was appointed a brigadier general of Pennsylvania militia. Various other honors and responsibilities came to him in later life; and there was no man in Western Pennsylvania better known or more thoroughly respected than General Douglass. An incident of his old age was the visit of General Lafayette to Uniontown, in May, 1825. At the banquet on that occasion,

1. Letter to C. M. Burton, 1910.

General Douglass sat at Lafayette's right, no slight mark of distinction. He died July 17, 1833, leaving an estate counted large in those days.

General Douglass was described, by one¹ who knew him personally in his later years, as "a man of high stature and most imposing appearance, remarkably neat and exact in gait and dress, with long queue and powdered hair. He was a peer among the great and high-minded judges and attorneys of his day. . . . He had a repulsive sternness and awe-inspiring demeanor, which repelled undue familiarity and rendered him unpopular with the masses. His temper was irritable and he was subject to impetuous rage. Yet he was a man of great liberality, generous and kind to the poor, and especially a friend in need. It is said that in a season when a great scarcity of grain was threatened, he providently bought up, at fair prices, large quantities which, when the expected want of his neighbors came upon them, he sold at cost, or lent to be repaid in kind and quantity after the next harvest." Another anecdote tells of his generous help to General Arthur St. Clair who in his last years was very poor. General Douglass loaned him a hundred dollars, and took his note "on demand," himself endorsing it: "Never to be demanded."

His chief claim to the thought of later generations is, that he was the first official representative of the United States who brought a message of peace and good will, and a proclamation of new sovereignty, to the Indian tribes north of the Ohio and in the region of the Great Lakes.

SOURCES OF THE NARRATIVE

The writer is not aware that the story of Ephraim Douglass and his peace mission of 1783 has ever been told before as a part of Niagara regional history. The local histories and studies of the Niagara frontier do not contain his name. Yet his mission was important, and the documentary record of it is fairly

1. Judge James Veech, author of "The Monongahela of Old."

abundant and easy of access. Douglass' own report is printed in the Journals of Congress. His letter of July 6, from Detroit, to General Irvine, is contained in the "Washington-Irvine Correspondence," edited by C. W. Butterfield, 1882. The letters of the British officers are from the Haldimand papers at Ottawa; some of them are printed in the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections. Other documents are found in the Pennsylvania Archives, especially Series 1, vol. 10. From these and other sources Mr. Clarence M. Burton of Detroit prepared a study, "Ephraim Douglass and His Times," published in Abbatt's Magazine of History, Extra, No. 10, in 1910. Mr. Burton's study gave first publication to the incomplete journal kept during the journey, by Captain George McCully. It covers the expedition from Fort Pitt to Detroit, the last entry being July 4th. The Niagara portion of the journey, if ever written by McCully, is lost.

THE
PEACE CENTENARY
ON THE GREAT LAKES AND
THE NIAGARA FRONTIER

THE CENTENARY OF PEACE

IN RELATION TO THE REGION OF THE NIAGARA AND THE GREAT LAKES

BY FRANK H. SEVERANCE¹

On Christmas eve, of the year 1814, in the stately refectory of the Carthusian monastery in the famous city of Ghent, there assembled a small but distinguished group of men, British and American. Lord Gambier, afterwards Admiral of the British Navy, hero of great sea fights, headed the British delegation. Chief among the American representatives was John Quincy Adams, at that time our Minister to Russia; and his associates were Jonathan Russell, the American Minister to Sweden; Senator James A. Bayard, and Henry Clay, Member of Congress; with Albert Gallatin, Financial Secretary—perhaps the ablest financier who ever gave his talents to the service of this country. The occasion was the close of deliberations and

1. An address originally prepared for and delivered before the International Congress, American Medico-Psychological Association, at the Clifton House, Niagara Falls, Ont., June 13, 1913; also given with minor adaptations, before the London and Middlesex Historical Society, London, Ont., Oct. 28, 1913; at a joint meeting of the Liberal Club of Dunkirk and the Monday Club of Fredonia; and, in Buffalo, before the Catholic Professional Club; Buffalo Chapter, Society of Colonial Wars; Buffalo Chapter, Sons of the Revolution; Buffalo Chapter, Daughters of the War of 1812, and other organizations; and on April 7, 1914, before the Buffalo Historical Society, in the form as here printed. Although the war era into which the world has since plunged, has so radically changed the peace prospects, it seems proper to include this paper in the present collection as given to the Society in the spring of 1914.

conferences which had extended over five months; there had been difficulties and differences—grave differences; but now, on the eve of the anniversary when all Christendom renews its consecration to the service of the Prince of Peace, differences were put aside, rancour ceased, and the Commissioners of Great Britain and the United States signed the Treaty of Ghent. To this hour, well nigh a century after, that treaty between the two great English-speaking peoples remains unbroken.

In considering the approach of this centenary, so significant in our history—in world history, even—my thought has turned to its relation to our home history, to the events of this mid-lake and Niagara region in which we live, with the history of which the Buffalo Historical Society is especially concerned. It has seemed to me a fitting time to glance backward over the period of white man's occupancy here, and discover if possible if we dwellers by these Lakes have any particular interest in, or reason for sharing in, the celebration of this century of peace.

And here, at the outset, is a striking thing: We have had peace for a hundred years, since the signing of the Treaty of Ghent. Before that, for more than a century and a half—yes, from earliest recorded time—the story of this region is a story of strife, of wilderness warfare. True, the first chapter in our home history records a mission of peace. In many parts of the world, even of our own America, the beginning of history is the record of warfare or of exploration, for conquest, or the quest for gold. Not so here. The first white men who came among the aborigines in this land of the Lakes were Christian priests, who brought hither the cross of Christ. Their message was one of peace and good-will. It is true of this region that the altar was built before the hearth; here the cross was raised

before the sword was drawn. But how short and futile was this effort, the history of the early missions records. It was a gleam of sunshine at the dawn of a dark and stormy day; then the clouds shut down, and for a century and a half the story of these lakes and bordering lands is a story of strife.

I am tempted, but must not yield to the impulse, to dwell on the earliest history. It is in high degree picturesque and romantic. As one studies the old days there passes before his vision a motley procession—of saintly priests, black robed or brown, with their portable altars on their backs; gallant, strange-clad soldiers, explorers, *voyageurs*, *coureurs-de-bois*—even the red Indian himself. They play their varied parts in this our early drama, and pass each to his place along the horizon of the imagination. These are our early history.

The trouble really began with an inoffensive little animal, ingenious and peace-loving in its habits, whose only indiscretion was that it wore too good a coat.

It was no more zeal to carry the gospel to savage tribes, no more desire for acquiring new realms, than it was a craving to profit by the beaver trade that drew the white man into this rich wilderness. The Cabinet at Versailles and the Ministry at Whitehall, when they considered things American, thought and planned in terms of the beaver. There has probably been as much strife over fur as there has been over gold. Indeed, the early history of our region may fairly be typified by a beaver-skin, held by an Indian, a Dutchman, a Frenchman and an Englishman, each trying to pull it away from the others, each white man ready to placate and deceive the red man with fine promises and firewater, and each equally ready to stick a knife into his brothers' back.

The minor weapons of this early warfare were tomahawk and scalping knife, musket and brass cannon. But the main armament was the Frenchman's brandy and the Englishman's rum; the latter, according to Governor Dongan, most delightfully choleric of Colonial governors, being "esteemed by Christians as the more wholesome." Both were alike deadly to the unaccustomed savage, and to their efficiency was due the profit of the fur trade—and incidentally, and ultimately, the practical extinction of both beaver and Indian.

The French, you will recall, were the first explorers of this region and controlled its trade approximately for a century. It was exclusively a fur trade and the beaver, long since extinct hereabouts, was the one great staple.

When, in 1679, La Salle built the Griffon, that pioneer vessel of the Lakes above the Falls, it was not merely to carry forward his project of exploration, but it was with a thrifty purpose of trading in furs. Disaster overtook that first venture, but did not deter others from repeating the attempt.

But France was not allowed for long to enjoy a monopoly of so profitable a traffic. La Salle was still pushing his discoveries in the southwest when, in 1685, the jealous English sent to these Lakes their first expedition. It was in the English interest, although its leader was a Dutchman, one Johannes Roseboom, an Albany trader. He was the first white man not French or in French interest, known to have visited this Lake region. The story of his adventure as told in old documents, is too long to detail at this time. With a small company, a part of them friendly Indians, he made a rapid advance in canoes through Lakes Erie and Huron, gave to the native tribes their first taste of the Englishman's rum, and with canoes well laden with peltries made his way back

to Albany. The English were so delighted at this success that the next year, 1686, another expedition was sent out. Roseboom accompanied it, but its leader was a Scotch colonel by name of Magregorie. Disaster overtook them. They were captured by the French, narrowly escaped death at the hands of the Indians, their goods were confiscated, and they were brought back with a great escort of exultant savages under the leadership of the French.

It is a picture which the imagination may be allowed to dwell upon; the triumphant French, with their English and Dutch prisoners in thongs, under guard, and none too tenderly cared for; the horde of exultant and painted savages from the north and west. The advance was by canoe, a picturesque train of crowded barques, the brown warriors making the wooded walls of Lake Erie echo with their cries. French, Dutch, English and Indians together, it was the greatest on-coming of the white man the lake region had ever seen. No such throng had attended the advent of La Salle, eight years before, or the arduous progress of the missionary priests in the earlier years.

There follow a series of expeditions, some familiar to the student of history, others little known, but always presenting a phase of war. From Quebec and Montreal, Kingston and Fort Niagara, these little armies of adventurous Frenchmen came into Lake Erie. One of them, in 1749, led by De Céloron, whose name we keep on the Chautauqua county map, made his landing at old Barcelona, near Westfield, cut a road for his men and boats over the hill—the first white man's work in Chautauqua county—and voyaged through Chautauqua lake down into the Ohio, burying leaden plates and raising standards to claim the country for the King of France. Other and stronger expeditions found the bay and peninsula of Presqu' Isle, now

Erie, and made the portage by way of Waterford and Le Boeuf.

Then came the war which in 1760 cost Louis XV. his whole splendid possession of New France. On this frontier the decisive action was the capture of Fort Niagara in July, 1759. When that stronghold fell, all the chain of forts between it and the Ohio was abandoned. As our beloved Holmes has summed it up—the true poet, you know, can put more into a single line than the plodding historian into many pages—

“The lilies trembled where the Lion trod.”

The lily-strewn standards of France were brought low, and the cross of St. Andrew and St. George flew above the British garrisons up and down the St. Lawrence, along the far shores of the Great Lakes and in the wilderness of the Ohio.

You note perhaps that I said, “the cross of St. Andrew and St. George.” Great Britain’s emblem at that time was the double cross; the cross of St. Michael had not yet been added to the Union Jack, though we know that many Irishmen fought on this frontier and by such fighting helped win the Great Lakes and the mid-Continent from France. Indeed, the commander for the British who compelled the surrender of Fort Niagara was Sir William Johnson, perhaps the most influential Irishman who ever helped make American history. When you recall certain Irish gentlemen who have been pretty active in the later history of New York State, you will agree that I put the case for Sir William strong enough to suit his warmest admirer.

The story of our region under the British continues to be a story of strife. This entire region was officially surrendered by the French in 1760. Three years later, Pontiac

raised the hatchet and there were massacres east and west. To this period, on our frontier, belongs the tragedy of the Devil's Hole. It was the last organized effort of the Indian to withstand the encroachments of the whites east of the Mississippi. It failed, and the next year came John Bradstreet, a sturdy British soldier, to compel the beaten tribes to acknowledge the supremacy of Great Britain in so-called peace treaties. They talked of peace, but there was never an hour when the spirit of resentment did not burn.

Later, when the tribes saw that it was greatly to their advantage to accept the offerings of the British, they became venial and greedy allies in the war against the American patriots. The years preceding that war, although nominally years of peace, were never years of security to the white man in this region. Great Britain strove to retain enough good will on the part of the native tribes, to permit her to maintain her garrisons on the Lakes and allow her traders to gather the furs. By the time the New Englanders had thrown the tea overboard in Boston harbor and had rebelled against England and shot down her soldiers at Concord, Lexington and Bunker Hill, here on the Great Lakes the British were in absolute control, and British map-makers were carrying the boundary line of Canada as far south as the Ohio.

We sometimes forget, as we read the story of the Revolution, that the American patriots, or, if you please, rebels—"rebel" may be a very good word—we forget that the Americans in the old seaboard colonies, not only faced the might of Great Britain's army and navy, but they were hemmed in at the back of their settlements by a wilderness which was not merely savagely hostile and inhospitable, but was claimed as British territory and garrisoned by British arms.

The alliance which the British made in this region with the Indians gave to warfare its most ferocious and cruel aspect. At Kingston, at Oswego, at Fort Niagara, Detroit, Mackinaw, and elsewhere, the King of England extended the hand of a father to his savage allies, called them his children, fed and clothed them, fitted them out with arms and ammunition, and encouraged them to dispatch their war parties on expeditions against the white settlements to the eastward.

Especially from Fort Niagara, that old hawk's nest at the angle of lake and river, was this sort of warfare kept up throughout the Revolution. From that base, not only did the Indians take the warpath, but bands of white men, some of them of culture and Christian training, joined with the naked and painted savage in these wild marches through the wilderness, to fall upon the defenseless frontiersman, to burn his cabin, ruin his crops, steal his cattle, shoot or scalp the aged or helpless, and take captive the young of both sexes, bringing them back over hundreds of miles of forest paths to old Fort Niagara. Some of these expeditions were responsible for the massacres of Bowman's Creek, Cherry Valley and Wyoming. They followed the valleys of the Mohawk, the Susquehanna and the Allegheny, and they gave to the Revolutionary war in the vicinity of Lake Erie and the Niagara a character for cruelty elsewhere unequaled.

The Revolution closed with the Treaty of Paris, in 1783. By the terms of that Treaty, the British posts on the Great Lakes south of the agreed boundary line, were to be surrendered to the Americans. But John Bull, you know, once he has taken hold, has a reputation for holding on, bull-dog fashion. For thirteen years, Great Britain continued to retain these Lake posts, which, although American by treaty

from 1783, did not become American by possession until 1796.

On an August day, in that year, the British colors came down at Fort Niagara and the stars and stripes went to the masthead, proclaiming a new sovereignty over these lands and lakes.

There were then, you do not need to be reminded, no towns of Niagara Falls or Buffalo, Dunkirk, Cleveland, Toledo, Milwaukee or Chicago. Detroit and Mackinaw, old French posts which had fallen into the hands of the British, and had been British strongholds for 37 years, immediately felt the influence of new life and settlement. Nothing is more striking in the history of our home region, than the quickening of new forces which made themselves manifest as soon as the American Government had actual control of the Lake posts. Then set in the era of great speculative interests, of land companies. The Holland Land Company acquired more than two million acres of Western New York, and the tide of immigration began, to these shores. It was a steadily swelling tide which, in a decade, brought into the counties bordering on Lake Erie a pioneer population which was truly a selected and a chosen people. No better stock ever settled new lands. They brought energy, industry, no little material wealth, and a great inheritance of moral standards and character.

From the close of the Revolution there had been coming into what is now the Province of Ontario a somewhat similar immigration of the United Empire Loyalists. The two communities, north and south of Lake Erie, east and west of the Niagara, developed on practically the same lines, were from the same stock and were alike in all things except their political allegiance. Cordial relations prevailed.

There was free exchange of business, families intermarried, and there was coming into existence a condition of prosperity and good feeling which more nearly approached the ideal state of peace than had ever before been known in the Lake region.

Suddenly the development of the region was checked. Friendly relations were broken off and war once more blighted the settlements around Lake Erie.

This is no time to enter with any fullness into the narrative of the war which Congress declared against Great Britain on the 18th of June, 1812. You know how from the outset the Lakes and the Niagara frontier in particular became the theater of that war. You know how the fortunes of war varied. For the Americans, the year of 1812 hereabouts was a year of disaster. Our badly organized and crude endeavor to invade Canada at Queenston Heights not only resulted in our defeat, the capture of many of our troops, and the death of Sir Isaac Brock, the most brilliant military figure in Canadian history; but it revealed to the country, by the cowardice and insubordination of the militia, the necessity for better trained troops if the war were to be carried on by land operations.

The story of the high seas was very different. It was one of the surprises of history that our small navy could render such splendid account of itself in single contests against the ships of Great Britain. There is no more inspiring reading in all the history of our country than the story of those wonderful sea duels at the opening of the War of 1812.

The year 1813 on this frontier was largely a year of preparation, and of offensive operations culminating in the burning of Niagara, in retaliation for which the British swept the American frontier from Lake Ontario to Buffalo,

wiping out every settlement and turning back the hands of the clock by a decade.

The one gallant affair of the war on the Lakes was the victory of Perry over the British fleet on the 10th of September, 1813. You will recall how the young naval officer, aged but 28, was sent to Lake Erie, charged with the heavy duty of constructing a fleet from the green growing trees, manning it from whatever sources he could draw his men and striking whatever blow the God of Battles gave him power to strike against the enemy. You know how he outfitted a part of his fleet on the Niagara just below Buffalo, how others of his ships were built in the bay at Erie. You know the outcome of his engagement with Barclay. Now, a hundred years after, these lakeside cities join, as the States and Federal Government join in paying tribute to his memory and in dedicating monuments and memorials to keep alive the fame of his achievement.

Then comes 1814, with its heavy fighting in which the Americans, now having in some degree learned the art of war, better equipped and trained, met the British on more nearly equal footing. You are familiar with the story of Fort Erie and Chippewa and Lundy's Lane. They were heavy battles for that time, with grievous loss of lives and waste of money for both nations; and yet, so far as the settlement of differences was concerned, or the advantage of either contestant, they might just as well never have been fought.

The War of 1812 presents many curious features. Among its causes, you will recall, were conditions which had grown out of British interference with American trade on the high seas; the impressment of seamen, the blockading of ports, the discrimination against Americans in trade with other countries; these were some of the contributing causes which goaded Congress to declare war.

It is curious now, after the lapse of a full century, to reflect that the greatest battle of that war—New Orleans—was fought after the commissioners had signed a treaty of peace, a treaty which did not mention directly or indirectly the principal grievances over which we had gone to war. It was a war fought by a feeble folk against the mightiest military and naval power on earth; nor was it fought, on the American side, by an undivided people. It was true, throughout that whole period, that New England, which represented the greatest wealth of the country, bitterly opposed the prosecution of the war. The New England press and pulpit and the money interests gave to President Madison as much trouble as did England herself.

It cost our poor country a hundred millions of dollars and fifty thousand lives. From the outset, one cry had been the conquest and annexation of Canada; but at the close of the war, the boundary line remained as before, and the spirit of loyalty to Great Britain in Canada had been immeasurably strengthened.

With inadvertence I have used the phrase, annexation of Canada. It is a curious phrase—a sounding name for something which has never existed or been in the slightest degree liable to come to pass. The phrase is scattered at intervals throughout our history for a century and more. The further back you go, the more you find of it. In fact, if there ever was a time when there was any reason for discussing the annexation of Canada it was in the days of the Revolution, when the Thirteen Colonies were cutting home ties and taking chances in the name of Liberty. There may have been at that time in Canada some kindred spirits willing to join the adventure. If so, their disposition was purely individual and never became colonial or of influence in Government control. In the readjustments

of those days, the United States became synonymous with separation from England, Canada stood more and more for loyal adherence to England. Still, through the decades, the bugaboo of annexation recurs as insubstantial dreams will recur. In the vision of so philosophical a scholar as Goldwin Smith annexation loomed as the ultimate destiny of Canada,—even while Canada was speeding, with constantly accelerated progress, in the opposite direction. Even in these days there now and then will rise at his desk in the House of Representatives at Washington, some statesman who with singular earnestness if not sincerity ardently advocates the annexation of Canada. I never hear of this performance without wishing that I could transport such an honorable gentleman to Canada, if but for a day; could take him, shall we say, into some country school-house where some slip of a Canadian girl (I believe the young women teach country schools in Canada, as with us?) is teaching the boys and girls of her district the first lessons in loving service for one's own country, which is patriotism; all very simply and largely unconsciously, no doubt; but there's a print of the King on the wall, or at any rate the Union Jack somewhere in sight. Now if our visitor from Washington had the good gift of Vision, and could get a flash of what the loyal education of each new generation means in Canada from the Atlantic to the Pacific—well, he would go back to his place in the House of Representatives, if not a wiser, let us hope at least a quieter man on the subject of Canadian annexation. Perhaps he would recall Kipling's lines, the truest epitome of Canadian spirit I know of:

Daughter am I in my Mother's house, but mistress in my own.

This will have seemed in the nature of a digression, but still my theme is Peace. The Treaty of Ghent, or rather

an agreement that grew out of it, established on the Lakes the principle of non-armament. A Government patrol to prevent smuggling and illegal fishing is all that is required either of the United States or Canada and is all that suggests armed service on these waters.

In the century that has passed since that Treaty was signed, there have been many issues which might have driven hotter-headed peoples to arms.

For long years there were boundary disputes. Our Canadian friends to this day cannot understand how their commissioners ever agreed to a boundary line which gave us the northernmost part of New England. Then, there was the difficult time which brought forth the cry of "Fifty-four Forty or Fight." How easily it might have been "fight" you have but to read the history of that exciting period to discover. Many of you will recall the bitterness aroused in more recent years over the adjustment of the Alaskan boundary.

Here on Lake Erie, in '37 and '38, what with the escapades of William Lyon Mackenzie, the burning of the steamer *Caroline*, and other incidents of the Upper Canada Rebellion, the so-called Patriot War, there were causes enough for international strife had they not been averted by the justice and discretion and forbearance of Lord Ashburton and Daniel Webster.

And then the Civil War. Perhaps we came nearer to an armed clash with Great Britain over the disputed Alabama claims than at any time since 1812. Their ultimate peaceful settlement was largely a triumph of the statesmanship of Gladstone. On these Lakes the Civil War period was marked with numerous episodes, notably the Johnson's Island plot, the exploits of certain Confederate raiders and the abortive Peace Convention at Niagara Falls, in which

Horace Greeley undertook to show President Lincoln how the war should be stopped. These and other episodes of the time stirred up bitterness on either side the lake, but the salutary influence of this Treaty of 1814 and the inherent good sense of Canadians and Americans alike, carried us along to an era of better understanding and better feeling.

Then there were the Fenian raids into Canada, a sort of comic opera war it seems now, yet nations have sent armies against each other for less cause than this. You will recall the Behring Sea issue and the controversy over the Atlantic fisheries. These and other matters that have arisen from time to time have, in recent years, been submitted to the tribunal of arbitrament and have been settled without burdensome cost to either country, with dignity and with justice.

It is necessary, however, not to be led astray in our exultation over the achievements of peace. We write and talk of the fulfilment of a century of peace between Great Britain and the United States. To the conscientious student of history, there appears the necessity of qualifying clauses. I lately saw, in a semi-official publication of the State, an allusion to the past century as one of "peace and amity" between the United States and Great Britain. Of peace, yes, in the sense of diplomatic tolerance, and no resort to arms. Great Britain has not shot down the soldiers of this country, nor have we killed British troops for an hundred years. If to refrain from such acts is international peace, then a century of peace is well-nigh accomplished. But what about amity, using the word in its plain, straightforward English sense? We promote neither peace nor amity by assuming that they have existed when they did not.

What is the truth, as to our relations with Great Britain—or for this instance I shall be more precise if I say England—during the past century?

I suggest, as a subject not unworthy your attention at some future meeting, a review of this so-called century of peace, in the light of facts. We may term it a study of the evolution of cordiality, between Great Britain and the United States.

By what steps the present cordiality has been attained, every student of our history must know. While I cannot now enter into it in any adequate way, a very few minutes will suffice to indicate the nature of the subject.

The relations of these two countries which are so fondly at peace are, obviously, official and unofficial.

The official communications of the Government of Great Britain to the Government of this country, in the early years of our existence, were couched in terms which might have been employed towards turbulent or perverse tribes of Africa. From the day we declared our independence down to and after the War of 1812, Great Britain's necessary communications with our Department of State are marked by a dictatorial and superior tone, while the form of expression is often far removed from what today we term diplomatic. There was not only in the English mind, a sense of superiority but there was an insistence of it, naturally humiliating and irritating to Americans charged with diplomatic intercourse. Indeed, it was not until well within the past century—that is, in decades subsequent to the War of 1812—that Great Britain adopted what is known as “proper” diplomatic language in her communications to Washington—the language of deference and courtesy which is now the *vade mecum* of diplomacy between the Powers of the earth.

If this was the official expression of English dislike and superiority it will readily be credited that the unofficial expression in literature, in the press, and in the mouths and

thoughts of the contemptuous public, found varied and offensive utterance for many years. Usually, prejudice is based on lack of knowledge; yet so many Englishmen and women visited America to write disparagingly of it prior to the Civil War that it was more than once questioned if there were not some official backing and sanction to what appeared a deliberate plan to give to the United States as bad a character as possible, to advertise us unhappily to the world and to posterity. Some of our most relentless translators, like Southey and Sidney Smith, did not take the trouble to visit America, but were satisfied to misrepresent without knowing anything about us. Travelers like Captain Basil Hall, Mrs. Trollope, and a score of others in caustic chapters magnified our faults and shortcomings. Charles Dickens repaid the most hospitable (and profitable) reception that America could offer him, with books calculated to make us the laughing-stock of the civilized world. Volumes of this sort, falling year after year from the British press, could not fail of some measure of effect in creating prejudice against the young Republic. The American public of those days, more vulnerable and more sensitive than it now is, settled down into undenied and undisguised dislike, not to say hatred, of Great Britain and her institutions. Several generations of American youth, learning from none-too-competent or judicious school-books the story of the Revolution and the War of 1812, grew up with the deep-rooted impression that England had been a merciless oppressor in the one instance and supercilious ignorer of our rights in the other instance. Not infrequently men thus reared came into public life, and did their misguided best to keep alive all the prejudices, the misunderstandings and the bitterness of spirit which they had inherited and in which they had been schooled.

I am tempted to speak of the American abroad, but that would be another digression, at least from the paths of peace. My observation has been, that always, in England, there is very much in evidence a sort of American whom we really do not care for in America; the loud, uninformed bragger of American superiority. Lack of information can be condoned; but bragging, never. It does not go with true patriotic spirit, but it does go very far to create in English society, especially among the middle class, in the press and the average English mind a distaste for Americans, for America and everything associated with the name. All of this is not amity.

I need not remind you that there are exceptions; that breadth of view and tolerance, culture and courtesy, are qualities confined to neither side of the Atlantic; with increased intercourse these fine qualities spread. We are all the time getting further away from the sources of the trouble; and I venture to think that as the past century has been one of peace, a hundred years hence our successors may look back over a century of amity.

Many ways of celebrating the centenary are being considered. It is agreed that, throughout the English-speaking countries and at Ghent, on Christmas Eve, 1914, special religious services will be held.¹ Wherever Anglo-Saxon peoples dwell, from London to New Zealand, from Australia and India to Canada, throughout the length and breadth of America, some special observances will be held in cathedrals and churches, in schools and assemblies of every sort, with speech and sermon, with song and prayer, in commemoration of this fully rounded century of peace

1. Written, of course, without prevision of the Great War, as were other remarks following, but which may be allowed to stand, to complete the writer's presentation of the subject as viewed in the spring of 1914.

between the English speaking peoples. The poet of the past has sung of Britain's

Far-flung battle line.

The poet of the future—yes, the poet of today, may sing of the girdle of peace and good-will which in this centenary observance, Great Britain and her kindred have put around the globe.

In the great banquet hall of the old Hotel de Ville, in Ghent, a formal banquet will be held in celebration of the signing of the Treaty. It is proposed by the Belgians to restore this historic hall to the exact conditions of a hundred years ago.

Of closer interest to us, are the projects for building one or more memorial bridges across the Niagara. Just now, there is no agreement as to location. Buffalo and Niagara Falls are rival claimants for the honor. Probably a peaceful solution will be found and ultimately a memorial erected worthy of the two nations. Are you aware that the cataract of Niagara has itself been consecrated, with the solemn rites of the Roman Catholic Church, to the Blessed Virgin of Peace?¹

One interesting achievement in this connection is the purchase of Sulgrave Manor in Northamptonshire, England, the ancestral home of George Washington. If a suitable endowment fund can be secured, it is proposed to maintain this historic old house as a museum for things relating to the two countries and as an international meeting place. Still another suggestion is that the women of America shall erect at Washington a statue of Queen Victoria; while a bust or statue of George Washington is to be placed in Westminster Abbey.

1. See ante, pp. 97-112.

The lakeside cities, Oswego, Kingston and Toronto, and all the larger communities from Buffalo west as far as Chicago and Duluth, are expected to arrange special programs or to provide for the erection of permanent memorials. The school departments of several States are already planning special courses of reading, special celebrations to be carried out by the children.

Still another class of memorial is contemplated. One proposition is to establish an interchange of professorships in the leading colleges of Great Britain and the United States, to be maintained during years to come. A system of international prizes for schools throughout both countries to be awarded for work dealing with the peace subject is another suggestion.

Perhaps greatest of all in its far-reaching effect, is the proposal to endow traveling scholarships for journalists, that is to provide a fund, by the aid of which writers on the leading newspapers of the two countries will be enabled each to visit the other's country, to study its institutions and acquaint himself with the other man's point of view on international topics. This and some of the other suggested forms of commemoration perhaps wait only for the word from some multimillionaire who would be willing to provide the endowment.

You and I, my friends, will never see the Millennium which dreamers have told of. We will never see a time when there is not strife between nations as between men. We will probably never see a time of complete disarmament, even on the part of the most enlightened and peace-loving peoples. There are active forces in every community which for the public good, must be controlled by force. Army and Navy represent organized force, not merely for offensive action against other nations, but for protection of

a country's own people—protection against themselves. How long would life or property in New York or London be safe, if there were no police? A navy, a standing army or a ready trained militia is a nation's police force, and no nation has yet got beyond the need of it.

We shall never see a time when there is not strife; but already we are come to a time when more and more the preferences of thoughtful men in this country, are for peace. It may be so in some others; for me at least it would be rash to presume to know their national point of view. I do not dwell on the evolution of humanitarianism; but as I contemplate the close relations of the business communities, the whole world around, it appears to me that more and more the preferences of thoughtful men are for peace.

More and more there spreads over the world the New Internationalism. The nations, or representative organizations among them, more and more work together for the common good. The Postal Union, the Red Cross organization, international submarine and wireless telegraph service, agreements governing steamer tracks on the high seas, international coöperation among medical and other scientific, philanthropic and sociological bodies—these are a few of the coöperative forces, economical to administer, advantageous to all, which tend to draw the nations of the earth together. Even so simple and accepted a matter as the prediction of tomorrow's weather is largely dependent for its accuracy and efficiency on international coöperation.

When we consider these things, we see more clearly than did the earlier generations, the grievous cost and exhaustion of war. No age has ever protested so much against war, as ours. That of itself is a sign of mankind's slow evolu-

tion to a time when the earth shall realize the poetic prophecy of England's great lyricist:

When the war-drums are muffled
And the battle-flags are furled
In the Parliament of Man,
The Federation of the World.

The Peace Centenary on which we are entering will be a great milestone in the world's approach to that better time. Nowhere in the world should it mean more than to us, dwellers by the Great Lakes. If our past has been rich in experience and fruitful in spite of strife, our present is richer yet in opportunity under the benign hand of Peace.

THE
QUAKER MISSION
AMONG THE INDIANS
OF NEW YORK STATE

THE QUAKER MISSION

AMONG THE INDIANS OF NEW YORK STATE

By JOSEPH ELKINTON¹

To the Historical Society of Buffalo:

Your secretary has asked me to tell you the story of the mission which the Society of Friends has conducted for more than a century in behalf of the Iroquois Indians.

You are all acquainted in a general way, with the interest Friends have always taken in the natives of North America. As early as 1682, when George Fox visited this country, he earnestly entreated all who came in contact with the Indians to treat them with courtesy and Christian kindness, as well as to educate them in the useful arts as opportunity offered. And William Penn put the advice of his co-religionists into practice when he settled Pennsylvania, in such a way as to make his name immortal.

In 1790 three Seneca Chiefs, Corn Planter, Big Tree and Half Town, came to Philadelphia to plead with President Washington for consideration, after the army of General Sullivan had humbled the power of the Six Nations, destroyed their habitations and endangered their title to their ancient hunting grounds.

Corn Planter, when addressing the President on this memorable occasion, said that he "loved peace, and all that

1. The writer of the following sketch of the Quaker mission among the Seneca Indians is the grandson of the original founder of the first school established among them, nearly 100 years ago. He and his father, the late Joseph S. Elkinton, have both taken the same interest in the welfare of the Indians throughout the United States as this ancestor felt in the Iroquois nation. The present Joseph Elkinton is an active member of the Indian Rights Association of Philadelphia, and a minister, as was his father, in the Society of Friends.

he had in store he had given to those who had been robbed by white people, lest they plunder the innocent to repay themselves. The whole season which others had employed in providing for their families, he had spent in endeavors to preserve peace; and at that very moment his wife and children were lying on the ground and in want of food; his heart was in pain for them, but he perceived that the Great Spirit would try his firmness in doing that which is right.

"Father, innocent men of our nation are killed, one after another, and of our best families; but none of your people who have committed these murders have been punished. We recollect that you did promise to punish those who killed our people, and we ask, was it intended that your people should kill the Senecas and not only remain unpunished, but be protected from the next of kin?"

"Father, these are to us very great things; we know that you are very strong, and we have heard that you are wise, and we shall wait to hear your answer that we may know that you are just."

The answer of the President was kind and conciliatory, so that Corn Planter replied: "Father, your speech, written on the great paper, is to us like the first light of the morning to a sick man, whose pulse beats too strongly in his temples, and prevents him from sleeping; he sees it and rejoices, but he is not cured."

Tradition says that it was during this interview, when the Indians asked President Washington whether he had any good men whom he would send among them to teach them the habits and the learning of the white man, that he recommended the Quakers as both willing and reliable for such assistance. These chiefs had an interview with Friends of Philadelphia before returning to their homes in New York State and their situation and needs were care-

fully considered by the Representative Meeting of that Society early in 1791.

The address of Corn Planter, which was listened to with much interest at that time, is as follows:

Brothers, the Seneca Nation sees that the Great Spirit intends that they shall not continue to live by hunting, and they look around on every side, and inquire who it is that shall teach them what is best for them to do.

Brothers, your fathers have dealt fairly and honestly with our fathers and they have charged us to remember it, and we think it right to tell you that we wish our children to be taught the same principles by which your fathers were guided in their councils.

We have too little wisdom among us; we cannot teach our children what we perceive their situation requires them to know; and we, therefore, ask you to instruct some of them. We wish them to be instructed to read and write, and such other things as you teach your own children, and especially to teach them to love peace.

Brothers, we desire of you to take under your care two Seneca boys, and to teach them as your own; and in order that they may be satisfied to remain with you and be easy in their minds, that they take with them the son of our interpreter and teach him also according to his desire.

Brothers, you know that it is not in our power to pay for the education of these three boys, and therefore you must, if you do this thing, look up to God for your reward.

Brothers, you will consider of this request and let us know what you determine to do. If your hearts are inclined towards us, and you will afford our nation this great advantage, I will send my son as one of the boys to receive your instruction and at the time which you shall appoint.

These boys were sent to Friends in Philadelphia and educated as requested. One hundred dollars was also appropriated as a token of regard for the Seneca Nation.

Four years later (1795) a permanent Committee was appointed to assist these Indians on their own reservations.

This Committee has been under continuous appointment ever since.

Incidentally it may be of interest to note that this was the outcome of a century of good-will and kindness, for the Friends of Philadelphia, when writing to their brethren of London Yearly Meeting in 1717 say:

As to your brotherly advice concerning our conduct towards the heathen, among whom it hath pleased God to cast our lot, we can truly say, as it has been the care of Friends even from their first settlement to behave with a godly and prudent carriage towards them, in which our worthy Friend, William Penn, when here, always set a noble and good example by his love and justice and tenderness towards the Indians, so that his memory is dear to them and they love to speak and hear his name, so it is the care of Friends, in their several stations and places, what in them lies, to continue the same and we could heartily desire that as the country increases, all that come in among us, and the succeeding generations may not slacken in that respect, but look back on the great and remarkable blessing, preservation and peace which the hand of the Almighty hath vouchsafed unto these countries, as a continual engagement upon all the inhabitants thereof.¹

Seventy-seven years later, in 1794, we read in a similar epistle to London Yearly Meeting:

Within a few weeks past a fresh occasion has claimed renewed attention to this great concern: information having been communicated to divers (of our) members, by officers of the General Government, of a treaty shortly to be held with representatives from certain of the Indian Nations, who had expressed a particular desire for the company of some Friends thereat. . . . An address to said Indian representatives was prepared, with a few suitable articles as a present to be made to them in token of Friends' continued brotherly regard, and four Friends, who had

1. From the minutes of the "Yearly Meeting, held at Philadelphia for the Provinces of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, from the 14th to the 18th of Seventh Month, 1717."

weightily signified a resignation to the arduous service, set forward on their journey . . the distance being upwards of three hundred miles, in part through a wilderness country.

The History of Cattaraugus County, published in 1879, contains the following:

At one time, particularly in the winter of 1793-94, and the spring and summer of the latter years, the few settlers who had penetrated west of Canandaigua became alarmed in view of the threatenings and unmistakable demonstrations of hostility on the part of the Senecas. These Indians were displeased at the near proximity of the whites; they complained that they had been cheated and overreached in the sale of their lands in the treaty of 1788. They had not yet lost the feeling of exasperation produced by the crushing defeat and punishment, administered to them by General Sullivan in 1779.

In this crisis a general Council of Indians was convoked by the Government of the United States, and held at Canandaigua in the autumn of 1794, before Timothy Pickering as Commissioner on the part of the United States. Four Friends, representatives of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, were present in behalf of the Indians.

On their way to this council, some of the Indians told the settlers that on their return, if their grievances had not been adjusted they would be redressed by the scalping-knife. But the deliberations of the council progressed favorably, and on the 11th of November a treaty was concluded, by which the United States ratified and confirmed the several treaties that had been made by the State of New York; and goods to the amount of \$10,000 were delivered to the Indians, besides making an addition of \$3,000 to their annuity of \$1,500, previously allowed.

The result of this convention conciliated the Senecas so that they never afterwards gave serious trouble to the settlers west of the Genesee River.

One of the Friends attending this Council, William Savery, records a visit from Sagaressa or the Sword-

Carrier, who appeared to be a thoughtful man and expressed the desire that some young men from the Society of Friends would come among them as teachers, school-masters and mechanics. This request was laid before the Yearly Meeting sitting in Philadelphia the following year, and a committee of 43 Friends was appointed to establish a permanent mission in New York State, as well as to raise a fund to carry on that mission.

In passing it should be noted that Friends had always been careful not to supply the Indians with strong drink. As early as 1687 they testified against the practice of "selling rum or other strong liquors to the Indians, directly or indirectly, or exchanging the same for any goods or merchandise with them (considering the abuse they make of it) as a thing displeasing to the Lord, a dishonor to the Truth and a grief to all good people."

A Mohegan chief, Hendrick Aupaumut, appealed to Friends in Philadelphia in 1794 to assist his people settled on the Oneida Reservation, with remnants of the Brotherton and Tuscarora tribes. The Friends responded by settling among them, although the Oneidas remained in a very uncivilized state. Some practical questions were addressed to all the Indians in New York State as to their willingness to be taught to read and write and how to cultivate their lands. They also had a very satisfactory interview with President Washington, who entered into their efforts sympathetically and referred them to Timothy Pickering, then Secretary of State, to whom was entrusted the management of Indian Affairs. He wrote to the Six Nations, under date of February 15, 1796:

Now, brothers, I have the great pleasure to inform you that your good friends, the Quakers, have formed a wise plan to show your young men and boys the most useful

practices of the white people. They will choose some prudent, good men to instruct them. These good men will do this only for the love they bear to you, their fellowmen, as children of the Great Spirit whom they desire to please, and who will be pleased with the good they do to you.

The Quakers and the good men they employ will ask nothing of you—neither land nor money, nor skins nor furs for all the good they render to you; they request only your consent and the attention of the young men and boys to learn what will be so useful.

Brothers, if this first attempt succeeds, the way will be opened in which your people may learn other useful practices of the white people so as to enable them to supply all their wants, and such as choose it may learn to read and write.

Having thus explained to you the plan of your friends, the Quakers, I conclude with heartily recommending it to your adoption, as better calculated to procure lasting and essential benefits to your Nation than any plan ever before attempted. Wishing it great success,

I remain your friend and brother,

TIMOTHY PICKERING.

Six Friends set out in the early summer of 1796 to visit the different tribes in the wilderness parts of New York, three of whom remained in Madison County, and on the Oneida Reservation, to instruct them in the arts of civilization. Two years later these pioneer missionaries were joined by three others, but it was thought best to close this mission in 1799, and, as some Indians could not understand why anyone could be so interested in them without asking some compensation, Friends distributed their equipment among them and removed to labor among the Senecas. In 1797, members of the Oneida, Stockbridge and Tuscarora tribes requested Friends to place some of the Indian girls among their own families near Philadelphia, and this was done to mutual satisfaction. Two Friends, Henry Simmons

and Joseph Clark, brought them to Philadelphia, and the latter, four years later, accompanied three of these Indian girls back to their homes. He says, in an account of this journey: "On my arrival at Stockbridge and delivering up the girls, I could discover no less joy manifested among the whole nation, than by their parents." Three other girls had returned previously very much improved. A council was called and Joseph Clark told these Indians "that it was neither curiosity, ease nor interest that induced him to leave his habitation, but that their children, whom they delivered to him four years ago, might be safely returned to them, with their qualifications and improvements. And as the Great and Good Spirit had preserved them from various evils, so he hoped they would continue to do well." Each girl had a Bible and other religious books in which they could read; also, a spinning-wheel, with abundance of clothing of their own making.

In the spring of 1798 three young men, Joel Swayne, Henry Simmons and Halliday Jackson, accompanied by Joshua Sharpless and John Pierce, went by way of Pittsburgh, the mouth of Oil Creek and Warren, Pennsylvania, to start a mission station at an old Indian settlement called Genesanguhta, now known as Old Town, on the Allegheny River, about five miles from the State line—the first settlement made by white men within Cattaraugus County. They held a council with 30 or 40 Indians, at which six women were present. This was in the Corn Planter settlement, and the following address was interpreted to them:

To Corn Planter and all our Indian brothers of the Seneca Nation, now living on the Allegheny River:

Brothers: We have now been several days among you, and have had counsel with your chiefs and wise men, and have looked about your country, and have agreed upon a

place for our young men to begin work. We are glad and thankful to the Great Spirit that everything we have proposed for your good, has been so agreeable to your minds, that we seem to agree like brothers, having but one mind in everything that we do.

Brothers, if you are industrious this summer, and raise a good deal of corn and some wheat, we will help you to build a good mill next summer, if a suitable place can be found for it. You must find half the money to build the mill, and we will find the other half. . . We are also willing to encourage you to learn farming by giving some small premiums to our Indian brothers who are industrious and raise a good deal of grain—to every Indian man living on this river who shall raise twenty-five bushels of wheat or rye in one year on his own land, not worked by white people, the sum of two dollars. And a like sum for fifty bushels of corn, raised in like manner; or fifty bushels of potatoes; or two tons of hay, not mown or drawn by white people, but put in stack or barn; or for every twelve yards of linen cloth, made by an Indian woman, out of flax raised on her husband's land, and spun in her own house, to be paid to the woman; or for twelve yards of woolen or linsey cloth, made by an Indian woman, out of the wool of her own or her husband's sheep and spun in her own house, to be paid to the woman.

Brothers, we will give you these premiums for four years, if our young men stay here so long, upon these conditions: that the person who applies for a premium must produce a certificate from two of the chiefs, signifying the quantity of grain, cloth, etc., for whom the premium is intended or demanded, and that it was raised or made in the manner above mentioned; and that the person has not been intoxicated with whiskey at least for the term of six months before that period.

This offer of premiums for agricultural products antedated any similar offer made to white men, by 40 years.

The situation of these Friends who had gone to reside among the Seneca Indians was attended by many privations

and difficulties. Under these circumstances it is not a matter of surprise that those who thus dedicated themselves had some seasons of discouragement, as also that they found many compensations and consolations, affording an ample reward for the sacrifices made.

In 1800 Red Jacket and three other chiefs of the Seneca Nation were in Philadelphia and requested that Friends should erect a saw-mill at Buffalo Creek, on the site of the present city of Buffalo, and intimated that such a present would be very acceptable to the Indians living at Tonawanda. A set of saw-mill irons was forwarded to each place within three years.

Friends generally made ready to coöperate with the Indians whenever they made any preparations to erect such a mill. They felt encouraged by hearing one young Indian at Old Town say to a white man, who had inquired of him what success he had in hunting, "I have almost quit hunting or hunt but little latterly, for the Quakers have put another mind in me and I have got so much notion of work that I pay little attention to hunting."

For several reasons the Committee in charge of these Indians thought it desirable to buy some 700 acres of land on Tunesassa Creek, two miles from Old Town, on the south side of the Allegheny River, and a half mile from the reservation.

Joel Swayne and Jonathan Thomas removed from Old Town to Tunesassa in 1804, and steps were soon taken to erect a saw and grist mill, which were completed and in operation early in 1805. The lumber of the Indians was sawn without charge when they used it to build houses for themselves, and an Indian who had a grist of his own raising ground and bolted on the same terms, said, "I think this will make Indians see daylight."

The Indians at Cattaraugus were also supplied with tools for cultivating the soil and some of their boys taken to Philadelphia to be sent to school. The Friends also bought a tract of 500 acres adjoining that reservation in 1808. This was on Clear Creek, a tributary of the Cattaraugus. A beginning was made during the summer of this year in clearing this tract and erecting a house for the accommodation of those who should reside there.

Four Friends were stationed there and five at the Tunesassa farm the following year. Their efforts were not confined to instructing the men in agricultural pursuits, as they were equally interested to help the Indian women in making their homes more comfortable. Clothing made of flax and wool instead of the skins of animals was introduced, and the Indians were taught to manufacture and use soap. One of these missionaries describes the usual Indian habitation of this period thus:

Many of their houses have earthen floors with some boards along each side, with deer skins spread over them, which serve for beds and seats to sit on. When they eat they set a dirty bowl, made of bark, in the middle of the floor; each one comes and cuts a piece and takes it in his hands and sits down again with pigs and dogs (of which they have abundance) running about the floor. These eat up the bones or scraps which are thrown down on the floor. By this means the house is kept cleaner. I think I scarcely saw a table. . . . Here and there, as we travelled about, we saw and were in divers of their old bark cabins. It is wonderful to think how anybody could live in them through the winter without being frozen.

It is by contrasting such conditions with those of today that we believe this century-long effort has not been in vain.

In the summer of 1807 the first death in this band of pioneer missionaries occurred. The wife of Benjamin Cope

was gathered to her eternal home. He wrote shortly after this event: "Several of the Indians have expressed a very great sympathy for me under my present trial. One old man, in particular, came to the mill when I was grinding his grist. . . . The great animation with which he spoke and the concern that I believe he felt for me touched my feelings very much."

The interest and efforts of Friends of New York Yearly Meeting should be recorded. John Murray, Jr., of New York City, and one of a Committee of that body to help the Indians in that State, wrote in 1810:

"We first called to see the Brothertown tribe, among whom our friend, John Dean, and family reside, whose endeavors to promote the concern of the Society of Friends, touching the civilization and welfare of the Indians we think has been measurably successful, and we trust they are in a state of improvement. . . . We tarried two nights among the Oneidas, lodging with our Friends, Absalom and Ruth Hatfield, who are fixed among this tribe with a view to the promotion of their welfare." Halliday Jackson, one of the Philadelphia Friends, visiting the Cattaraugus settlement in 1814, mentioned that "Our Friends inform us that they have almost daily heard the roaring of cannon from the British lines near Fort Erie, for several weeks past. . . . At the time Buffalo was burnt the alarm was distressing here, people were flying in every direction from the enemy, in consequence of which the Indians at Cattaraugus became very uneasy and moved much of their property south of the river, in readiness to fly to Allegheny in case of an attack. They seem to put great confidence in the judgment of Friends, often consulting them on account of their safety and stating that if Friends removed they would fly also."

The farms of these Indians were generally under good fence, at that time, several hundred acres having been enclosed and cultivated within three or four years.

Friends have continuously and, so far, successfully resisted the efforts of the Ogden Land Company to remove the Senecas from their reservation in New York State. This movement was started by Thomas L. Ogden, of New York City, as early as 1809. This company has the pre-emption rights to these reservations and they ought to be extinguished by application to the Courts of New York by the friends of the Indians, as the Superior Court decided recently that the Indians could not make such application in their own behalf.

Friends appealed to President Monroe in 1817, to discourage the alienation of these reservations, and at the same time urged the Indians not to part with their lands.

In the summer of 1816, Joseph Elkinton, from a sense of religious duty, left his home in Philadelphia to reside at Tunesassa, where he remained for 16 years. During a considerable part of this time he was engaged in teaching and in superintending schools taught by others. In the course of his labors he encountered great opposition from some of the Indian chiefs, who clung to their old habits and prejudices. Red Jacket threatened to "tar and feather" him, if he persisted in teaching the Indian children.

He learned the Seneca tongue and was adopted into their tribe as an honorary member. His Indian name, "We-nese-wa" ("A very fine day") was given him a year after he settled amongst them and was intended to signify that they were satisfied with him as a member of their community. Occasionally a chief would visit his school and speak, as Skin-dih-qua did, some four years after he first opened it. Addressing the children he said: "Be attentive to your

learning, and pay attention to the account we have in the Testament of Jesus; some of you know something about it, and are able to understand. He spoke the words of truth and of life, to which we should pay attention. Love your school-master, who is sitting there. We old men love him; he left his home where he had all the comforts of this life, to come here and endeavor to instruct you."

A year later (1821) Joseph Elkinton wrote that it was a time of great commotion among the Indians because they were divided in sentiment about dividing their land in severalty, and that the party opposing improvements had succeeded in getting the school closed until a general Council could be held at Buffalo. Some designing men had circulated the rumor that the Quakers would take their land for their services; whereupon the Friends in Philadelphia sent the following:

PHILADELPHIA, 19th First Month, 1821.

To the Chiefs and others of the Seneca Nation, residing on the Allegheny:

BROTHERS: We have been informed that some of you are uneasy in your minds for fear that your brothers, the Quakers, will bring a charge against you for the assistance they have afforded you in your endeavors to improve in the manner of living and in the management of your lands.

We hereby tell you plainly, as we have often told you before, that the Quakers, your brothers, do not want any of your land, any of your skins, nor any of your money, for anything they have done for you, and that they will never charge against you for any of these things, and we send you this writing to keep forever, to make your minds easy on this respect.

(Signed by 26 Friends)

This assurance, with other tokens of unselfish interest, brought forth this reply some two years later:

BROTHERS, THE QUAKERS: Make your mind easy, for we shall endeavor to have your advice attended to, and we become a useful people, and we much wish that our children become valuable citizens. We believe the reason of Indians having dwindled away to almost nothing has been by their irregular conduct, and sufficient attention not having been given to the marriage agreement, etc., which we desire may no longer be the case amongst us; we desire that our people should be orderly and feel gratitude flow in their hearts daily to the Great Spirit for favors; we also wish you to know that our brothers who now live beside us, we love and feel very choice of, and hope they may long continue with us.

Ever since Joseph Elkinton has been here, your desires for us in various respects, such as schooling, industrious habits, etc., have been repeatedly told to us by him, and we think great improvement has been made by us in several respects. He has attended faithfully to the school, whether few or many scholars, and that branch has been progressed in by our children. We have never yet seen him act amiss.

For a few years the school at Tunesassa was discontinued, but those who had been taught there were employed by the Indians to teach their children at other places on the Allegheny reservation. Friends, however, continued to keep themselves thoroughly posted about the conditions and needs of the Senecas. Three of the Friends returned, most opportunely, in 1835, when a terrible flood had carried away two-thirds of their crops.

We note that there are about 300 more Indians resident on the Allegheny reservation now than was the case in 1835.

Enoch Lewis, one of the greatest mathematicians of last century, with Robert Scotten, found only eight families possessed of means sufficient to prevent them from suffering, and so they distributed \$1000 among them during the winter of 1836, and an additional \$200 for seed potatoes. Another disastrous flood called forth a like sum in the

following summer. The school at Tunesassa reopened that year.

The Indians parted with some 88,000 acres of their land and most strenuous efforts were used to persuade the Senecas to move to Green Bay, Wisconsin. After repeated councils with the chiefs they were dissuaded from this very questionable move and the report of Enoch Lewis and Joseph Elkinton in 1837 concludes as follows: "It appears to us that our duty is a plain one. That we ought to exert such influence as we possess to induce them to hold fast their present possessions, to improve themselves and their land as rapidly as possible, and to become not only a civilized but a Christian community. If they should be induced to accede to the flattering offers which are so industriously presented to their view, it appears to us that a few more fleeting years will join their name and memory with those which are no longer known except on the historian's page."

Friends repeatedly went to Washington, D. C., in behalf of these Indians and did all they could to prevent the ratification of the treaty of 1838 and that of 1842, whereby a compromise was made with the Ogden Land Company.

The annals of this period would not be complete without mentioning the name of Ebenezer Worth, who came from near Philadelphia and labored most devotedly for seven years on the Allegheny Reservation, teaching school and advising the Indians in many ways. He was greatly beloved by them as he frequently visited them in their houses and gave to them liberally of his ample means, as well as of his time and sympathy. Sixty children were in attendance at three schools under his direction—one at Horse Shoe, a second at Cold Spring, and a third at Corn Planter's.

It would be impossible, in a sketch of this kind, to do justice to all the noble men and women, who, under a true

religious concern for the good of these natives, sacrificed much that was nearest and dearest to them. There is one name, however, that should not be forgotten in the early establishment of this mission among the Senecas.

Jonathan Thomas lived and labored very helpfully among them between 1796 and 1821. His daughter, writing of him, said: "Though but a little child, I well remember his staid and serious deportment while laboring for the Indian people; to them he was a true helper, and his counsel was often sought and his advice followed. It was a common expression with them, 'Jonathan could do no wrong; he did not know how.'"

Up to 1852 the schools under the care of Friends had been day schools, but in the winter of that year a boarding school was started at Tunesassa. The progress of the students has always been more satisfactory when they reside at the school and its capacity has been increased from time to time, so the average attendance for several years has been about 55 boys and girls, equally divided between the sexes.

The laying of railroad through the Allegheny Reservation gave the Friends much anxiety on account of the character of the men employed, and up to date (1914) it is said some 300 Indians have been killed on the railroad—many of them because they were under the influence of liquor.

The settlement of whites on this reservation, especially at Salamanca, has always been attended with serious danger to the Indians, introducing many complications, of which the supply of liquor has not been the least. But upon seriously talking over the whole effect of this now considerable city with the missionary, Morton F. Trippe, who resides there and who has devoted himself to the Senecas for 33 years past, he could but give credit to the good influ-

ence of the high school in Salamanca, and to some of the best citizens, resident there. And thus we see in all human affairs good and evil are generally mixed.

The course of history invariably reveals periods of transition to be attended with grave back-sets as well as dangers, and the greatest comfort comes from the fact that, generally speaking, the best survives and century-long fears are succeeded by confidence in the triumph of right. This is illustrated by the present probability that the Senecas in New York State will remain on their reservations and that they will gradually become self-supporting, as some of them have shown quite as much thrift and ability as their white neighbors.

In 1868, Thomas Wistar, Dr. James E. Rhoads, Joseph Scattergood, and Ebenezer Worth attended an important Conference on the Cattaraugus Reservation—to settle, if possible, the claims of the Ogden Land Company, but the treaty then signed was never ratified by Congress.

The two last-named Friends then visited all the Indian settlements in New York and they reported that “they were encouraged to believe that there is a steady advancement among an increasing number of Indians, in orderly conduct and industrious habits; and more concern is manifested for the proper instruction and restraint of their children. Many have joined religious societies from conviction, and seemed much interested in promoting the views held by those bodies, and encouraging their associates to lead moral and religious lives.”

In 1870 a similar Committee of Friends succeeded in getting the Indians residing on the Corn Planter Reservation in Pennsylvania to divide that tract so their title would be more secure. The work thus accomplished proved to be timely, as very shortly afterward the only surviving child

of Corn Planter died and the Indians affected by this change showed much more interest in their own affairs. The improvements made during the next three years were more than had been made for six or eight years previously.

To enlighten the Senecas on the Allegheny and Cattaraugus Reservations, Joseph Scattergood prepared and circulated among them "A Brief Statement of the rights of the Seneca Indians of New York to their lands in that State," etc., including a Memorial to Congress, prepared for them to sign, and the draft of an Act to enable them to divide the remaining portion of their lands and to hold them in severalty.

Forty years ago there were 5,140 Indians in the State of New York, the greater part of whom were settled on the Cattaraugus and Allegheny Reservations. There were 1,870 children between the ages of five and 21, and of these 1,418 had attended school part of the year. Thirty schools were kept for Indian children and twelve Indian teachers were employed, teaching on an average 33 weeks during the school year. These figures included all the Indians in the State.

The census for 1910 gives an Indian population of 6,046, so the increase is small but the value of their lands and individual property has greatly increased. An Act, providing for the appointment of three Commissioners, of whom one was Joseph Scattergood, was passed in 1875 to regulate the dealing of the whites with the Indians on the Allegheny Reservation. This resulted in a survey of the entire reservation and in marking the limits where whites could settle in the villages of Salamanca, West Salamanca, Vandalia, Carrolton, Great Valley and Red House. They also suggested a more satisfactory way of collecting the rents due from the whites by a United States Agent, and

of paying them to the Nation. This has since been ratified by the Federal Government and \$2500 is annually paid to the treasurer of the Seneca Nation, some \$10,000 being divided among the individual members of the tribe, together with an equal amount as their regular annuity. This distribution has been made for ten years past, and the past year (1913) amounted to about \$6 per capita. The Cattaraugus Reservation was also resurveyed and its present acreage found to be 21,977.

Samuel Morris, Joseph S. Elkinton and George J. Scattergood visited these Indians many times and their memory is cherished by them. Aaron P. Dewees was Superintendent at the boarding school for 12 years, and his services were much appreciated. The school building was burnt down in 1886, while he was in charge, and he narrowly escaped with his life while trying to save the lives of the students. A new building was promptly erected and the committee in charge of this institution are now equipping it with appliances for manual training and agricultural instruction.

There is a good dairy of 50 cows, which produce marketable butter of the finest quality, and the boys are taught practical farming.

The influence of the school upon the home life of the Indians is quite marked, wherever the women in them have attended it as scholars, and much credit is due the women Friends who have taught in the school.

The Y. M. C. A. at Quaker Bridge is cordially supported by the Friends and its most active members have been trained at the Quaker school. When we consider the present condition and needs of these Indians in the light of their past history, there is much to encourage those who have their best welfare at heart to persevere in their efforts to help them on the road of Christian civilization.

Perhaps the greatest hindrance to the advancement of the Red Man on this road is the continuance of the system whereby they hold a communal interest in property, so that the children born to members of a tribe secure a patrimony from the tribal estate, rather than from their parents as an inheritance. This communal holding of property results in inactivity on the part of Indian parents. Relieved of the necessity of accumulating property, it fosters slothfulness in themselves and a lack of incentive to prepare their offspring for the duties of life. It strengthens the continued reliance upon the Government in caring for their every need, thus relieving them of that individual responsibility so essential in the development of character. The communal interest in Indian property should cease at a fixed time to be determined by law, after which time all the lands, funds and other assets of the tribe should be credited in pro rata shares to the definitive membership found to be entitled at such fixed time to participate. Indian associations, the Mohonk Conference of Friends of the Indian, and students of the Indian problem generally, have approved of this principle in the management of Indian properties.

NOTES ON
THE LITERATURE OF
THE WAR OF 1812

NOTES ON THE LITERATURE *of the* WAR OF 1812

By FRANK H. SEVERANCE¹

The subject assigned to me in your programme is "Collections of Historical Material Relating to the War of 1812."

Two constructions, I think, may fairly be put on the subject. It seems to call for an account of existing collections in public or private libraries relating to the War of 1812; it also may be treated with propriety by submitting an analysis of the material which makes up the literature of this subject. The first method of treatment would be brief; the second method, properly followed, would of necessity be long and elaborate. For our present purpose it appears best, first, merely to glance at the collections on this subject as contained in notable libraries, and secondly, to survey, so far as time permits, several phases presented in the general field of literature of this war.

I need hardly remind you that outside of books much "material" is to be found which has true educative value. Our historical museums are many of them rich in relics, pictures and other reminders of this war. This is especially true in communities which during that war were the scene

1. Paper prepared for and presented at the annual meeting of the Ontario Historical Society, 1912. The reader will understand that the sketch, prepared for the entertainment of a miscellaneous audience, makes no pretense of being exhaustive or of filling the field of a bibliography. It is, however, an attempt to make known some striking features of the literature of the war, the centenary of which still holds a place in public attention. The reasons for including the paper in the Publications of the Buffalo Historical Society are obvious.

of special activity. In New England, New York, throughout the seaboard States, especially at Baltimore, and at New Orleans, are preserved many reminders of this conflict. The regions about Lake Champlain and the Great Lakes are peculiarly rich for the student, not only in relics preserved, but in associations. Buildings and battlefields are other sorts of "material" which teach, often more effectively than the document or the printed page. But it is not with this phase of the subject that I am to deal. My especial theme is the literature of the War of 1812.

I have made some effort to learn what is contained in great libraries on this subject. The replies from experienced librarians are those which all library workers would anticipate. I am told in effect by the Librarian of Congress, by Doctor Thwaites of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, by the Librarian of Harvard University, and by the custodians of other notable historical collections, that it is impossible to say with definiteness how much material they have on this subject. While every library has numerous works brought together under its classification system relating to the War of 1812, that same classification system refers to other headings and departments a vast amount of material bearing on the same subject. It is enough to remind you that all the general classifications of a large library, such as biography, individual or collected; periodicals; naval history; general military history; poetry, etc., would naturally embrace much material important to the student of the War of 1812 period. Hence it might follow that a library, the catalogue of which showed by title comparatively few books or pamphlets or papers on this subject, might still contain far larger and more important collections on the general subject than another library which had in its catalogue cards a larger list under the 1812 classification.

With this general reminder, it is hardly necessary to specify further along this line. Naturally the great libraries of our country are strongest in War of 1812 as in other collections. Perhaps first in any list should be named the Library of Congress, which is all-embracing. After that, and possibly the New York Public Library, the student of this subject would turn to the great New England depositories: the Library of Harvard University, the Boston Public, and the Antiquarian Society at Worcester. Other important regional literatures have been brought together by the Maryland Historical Society at Baltimore, and I believe by the Library of Tulane University at New Orleans. So far as I am aware, the best collection of periodical literature on this period is to be found at Madison, Wisconsin, in the library of the State Historical Society.

It is a matter of record, to be mentioned now without comment or preachment, that two of the most notable collections on the subject, supposedly housed in secure depositories, were turned to smoke and ashes by the conflagrations in the Parliament Buildings at Toronto and the State Capitol at Albany. I had some acquaintance with these collections and am of the impression that both ranked high in value relating to the 1812 period.

There is in Buffalo a little library, not at all to be mentioned with the great book collections of America, in which is to be found an exceptionally comprehensive collection on the period we are considering. The Buffalo Historical Society had already a good representative collection on this subject when, a few years ago, there was turned over to it a larger collection, the formation of which had been for a long period one of my diversions. As a result, the Buffalo Historical Society now has what I believe to be one of the best collections on this subject. A card list which I pre-

pared some time ago enumerates some nine hundred titles, not including perhaps twice as many entries of papers and studies of special phases of our subject contained in local histories, in periodical publications, and especially in the transactions of learned societies. While this does not tally accurately with the material in our possession, it is still fairly representative. As it is this collection I am best acquainted with, it seems appropriate for me to consider it in passing to the second phase of my subject.

Our collection, then, contains, as must any collection which aims to be comprehensive in the literature of the War of 1812, books and pamphlets which fall into the following classes: Events leading up to the war, especially the embargo and non-intercourse; general naval histories of the United States and of Great Britain; general military histories; official gazettes, journals and like publications; periodicals, not official; special histories of the period of the war; biographies; memorials, including transactions of institutions relative to the erection of monuments and the observance of anniversaries; controversial publications, both political and personal, the latter as to the service of this or that officer, etc.; claims, either for Government promotion for service rendered, pensions, or for damages and losses sustained by non-combatants; sermons, in which political doctrines were promulgated in the guise of religious instruction; poetry, drama, fiction, juvenile literature, and, omitting much, modern philosophical studies in which it is explained how things might have been otherwise.

This list could still be considerably extended and classified. There are numerous works pertaining to our subject, which consider chiefly the financial aspect of the times. There are others dealing with special phases of the causes

that led up to the war, as, for instance, the violation of neutral rights and the impressment of seamen. There is a considerable literature of wanderers' narratives, including some of the curiosities of our history; and there is also a considerable literature of brag and bluster, contributed to, perhaps, in equal proportions by all the contending parties.

That what is commonly referred to by American writers as "our second war with Great Britain" has enlisted the pens of able students is seen when we glance at the title pages of many of the best known works. To this period belong writings of Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, James Fenimore Cooper, George Bancroft, A. J. Dallas, Richard Hildreth, Alexander H. Stephens, General James Wilkinson, Governor Daniel D. Tompkins, Major-General George W. Cullum, Henry A. S. Dearborn, George Cary Eggleston, Benson J. Lossing, J. C. Gilleland, Solomon Hale, J. T. Headley, T. W. Higginson, Robert McAfee, R. B. Mitfee, Charles J. Ingersoll, Major A. L. Latour, T. O'Connor, James Parton, Theodore Roosevelt. These among the Americans. Among the English authors, very notably, William James, John Symons, Frederick Brock Tupper, Major-General Sir Carmichael Smith, G. R. Gleig, the Marquis of Wellesley, and many others.

Of Canadian authors in this field, again omitting many of note, I may mention G. Auchinleck, Robert Christie, Col. Ernest Cruikshank, Capt. F. C. Denison, Col. George T. Denison, William Kingsford, William Kirby, Capt. W. H. Merritt, D. B. Read, Charles Roger, Thomas Rideout, Matilda Edgar, and especially Major John Richardson, whose "Narrative of the Operations of the Right Division of the Army of Upper Canada, during the American War of 1812," printed at Brockville in 1842, is one of the rarest of Canadiana.

The student of this period cannot neglect certain very able chapters in works of wide scope, such as C. D. Yonge's "History of the British Navy," Von Holst's "Constitutional and Political History of the United States," G. Bryce's "Short History of the Canadian People," and numerous other works of general character.

Let us glance briefly at some of the books which we have referred to some of these classes. The literature which may be entitled "Causes leading up to the war," is surprisingly large and important. I do not need to remind this audience that no period in history can be separated from what has gone before, or what follows, and ticketed off as complete. To embrace all of the causes of this second war thoroughly and conscientiously would mean to include much of the story of America. For library purposes, however, it is possible to draw the lines with fair satisfaction, so that they shall include such studies as Alexander Baring's "Inquiry into the causes and consequences of the orders in Council, and an examination of the conduct of Great Britain towards the neutral commerce of America," published in London in 1808. For some years earlier even than that date these subjects occasioned many pamphlets and many discussions in Parliament. Of importance, too, for this period is James Stephen's "War in Disguise, or the Frauds of the Neutral Flags," a London publication of 1807. Many others of this character might be mentioned.

Then we have a surprisingly large contemporary literature that might be gathered about the single word "Embargo," ranging, to mention only American authorship, from William Cullen Bryant's juvenile work, "The Embargo," printed in 1808, to Thomas Jefferson's voluminous writings, ending with his life in 1826.

The personal phase of this period is picturesquely

brought out in numerous narratives of impressment; such, for instance, as that by Joshua Davis, "who was pressed and served on board six ships of the British," etc.; or the harrowing tale of James McLean, who at Hartford, in 1814, published his "Seventeen years' history of Sufferings as an Impressed Seaman in British Service." There are numerous narratives of this character which, taken together, make up an exceedingly lively prelude to the war itself.

The political shelf of our 1812 library must contain, not only long series of debates in Parliament and speeches in Congress, but a number of important serial or periodical publications, some of them official, such as the *London Gazette*, which through many years contains in bulletin form precise data invaluable to the student; *The Royal Military Calendar*; Dodsley's *Annual Register*; and, in America, *The United States Army Register*; Niles' *Register*; *The Portfolio*; the periodical entitled *The War*, and scores of others of varying value.

Of controversial works, especially pamphlets, there is no end, many of them illustrating, better than the fuller and more deliberate histories, the temper of the time. It was a period when for one reason or another anonymity was thought to be an essential of political discussion. Some of you no doubt can tell me who was the author of the letters of "Veritas," first published in the *Montreal Herald*, afterwards brought together and printed in Montreal in 1815, in which is given a narrative of the military administration of Sir George Prevost during his command in the Canadas, "Whereby it will appear manifest that the merit of preserving them from conquest belongs not to him." In the guise of "A New England Farmer," John Lowell, of Massachusetts, bombarded President Madison with numerous pamphlets. In earlier years, "Juriscola," in a series of

15 letters, had done his best to annihilate Great Britain; and "Don Quixote," in a most remarkable publication, "Ichneumon," labored as a patriot to settle internecine strife.

Perhaps better known are the papers of "Touchstone," who, it appears, was DeWitt Clinton. I could go on in this field at great length. It is a piquant and a tempting one to the bibliographer in its variety and its occasional discoveries.

I doubt if any period in our history has developed more literature that may be summed up as curios. Many of them are trifling in historical value, but our library must have them. Here, for instance, is the treatise entitled "The Beauties of Brother Bull-us, by his Loving Sister, Bull-a." Who would think of finding essays on the War of 1812 hidden under such a title as C. W. Hart chose for his work printed at Poughkeepsie in 1816, "Colloquy between two Deists, on the Immortality of the Soul"? Better known and more amusing is the work ascribed to Israel Mauduit, "Madison Agonistes, or the Agonies of Mother Goose," a political burletta represented as to be acted on the American stage. Among the *dramatis personae* are Randolph and Adamo, Members of Congress, etc. I may also mention "The Federal Looking Glass," published in 1812, which pictures General Hull's "surrender to the Devil."

Surely to this class belongs "The Adventures of Uncle Sam in Search After his Lost Honour," by Frederick Augustus Fidfaddy, Esq., who announced himself as "member of the Legion of Honour, Scratchetary to Uncle Sam and Privy Counsellor to Himself." The title-page motto in "Merino Latin"—"*Taurem per caudem grabbo*"—sheds light on the serious character of the work.

More serious, but I think also more amusing, is the work entitled "An Affecting Narrative of Louisa Baker, a Native

of Massachusetts who in disguise served three years as a Marine on board an American Frigate." This is a Boston imprint of 1815, but is not unique as a record of a woman disguised serving in this war, for we have still another work with the following title: "The Friendless Orphan. An affecting narrative of the Trials and Afflictions of Sophia Johnson, the early victim of a Cruel Stepmother, whose Afflictions and Singular Adventures probably exceed those of any other American Female living, who has been doomed in early life to drink deep of the cup of sorrow," etc., etc. Sophia experienced her sorrows in part at Buffalo, Fort Erie and elsewhere on the frontier disguised as a man, and lost an arm at the Battle of Bridgewater, of which an extraordinary engraving is given. Sophia, *sans* arm, is also portrayed.

I will merely mention G. Proctor's "Lucubrations of Humphrey Ravelin, Esq., Late Major in the . . . Regiment of Infantry." This is a London publication, giving some account of military life and Indian warfare in Canada during the 1812 period. Another curious work is Gilbert J. Hunt's "Historical Reader," of which numerous editions were published. The narrative is a poor imitation of the style of Chronicles and other historical books of the Old Testament.

Perhaps rarest of these curios, at least in the original edition, is "The War of the Gulls, an Historical Romance in Three Chapters," reputed to be by Jacob Bigelow and Nathan Hale, published at the Dramatic Repository, Shakespeare Gallery, New York, in 1812. This work has been recently reprinted, an honor which it quite deserves.

Among the curios, too, should have place sundry plays and dramas based on the war. I mention but two of them; one by Mordecai Manual Noah, a Hebrew journalist of

New York, who undertook to establish a modern Ararat and refuge city for the Jews on Grand Island, in Niagara River, but whose contribution to this field of letters is entitled: "She would be a Soldier, or the Plains of Chipewa; an Historical Drama in Three Acts." Major Noah's play was enacted for a time on the New York stage. Half a century later Clifton W. Tayleure produced another play of this period, "The Boy Martyrs of September 12th, 1814," which with little literary merit and seemingly less dramatic possibilities, was staged for a time in New York.

Under the heading of "Prisoners' Memoirs" there are numerous publications relating to the war, which fall into two classes. First, the narratives of men who shared in Western campaigns, usually American pioneers who were taken by British and Indians. An example is the narrative of William Atherton, entitled "Narrative of the Sufferings and Defeat of the Northwestern Army under Gen. Winchester; Massacre of the Prisoners; Sixteen Months' Imprisonment of the Writer and others with the Indians and British," etc., a prolix title, the work itself printed at Frankfort, Kentucky, in 1842. Still other chronicles of this character are to be gathered.

A wholly different field of experience was that of Americans who underwent imprisonment at Dartmoor in England. Perhaps the best known of these memoirs is the volume by Charles Andrews, "Containing a Complete and Impartial History of the Entire Captivity of the Americans in England from the Commencement of the Late War . . . until all prisoners were released by the Treaty of Ghent. Also a particular detail of all occurrences relative to that horrid massacre at Dartmoor, on the fatal evening of the 6th of April, 1815." Andrews' tale was printed in New York in 1815.

The next year, at Boston, Benjamin Waterhouse published "A Journal of a Young Man of Massachusetts, late a Surgeon on board an American privateer, who was captured at sea by the British, in May, 1813, and was confined, first at Melville Island, Halifax, then at Chatham, in England, and last at Dartmoor Prison."

In 1841 appeared "A Green Hand's First Cruise, Roughed out from the Log Book of Memory of 25 years standing, together with a residence of five months in Dartmoor." This two-volume work, one of the scarcest books of the War of 1812, was published at Baltimore by "A. Younker," probably a pen-name.

As late as 1878 appeared still another contribution to this class of works: "The early life and later experiences and labours of Joseph Bates," who records that in early life he was a sailor, was captured by the English in the War of 1812 and confined in Dartmoor prison. In later life he became an anti-slavery agitator.

The phrase "Wanderers' Narratives" fairly describes numerous works which the student of our subject will encounter; books, for instance, like Richard J. Cleveland's "In the Forecastle; or Twenty-five Years a Sailor." His sailing days were from 1792 to 1817, and he saw much and records much of privateering during the War of 1812.

Another "wanderer" was Patrick Gass, whose "Life and Times," first published, I believe, at Wellsburg, Va., in 1859, has in recent years been reprinted. When he wrote his memoirs, Gass claimed to be the sole survivor of the Lewis and Clark overland expedition to the Pacific of 1804 to 1806. He was also a soldier in the war with Great Britain, 1812 to 1815, and fought at Lundy's Lane. About 50 pages of his book relate to this war, mostly to events on the Niagara.

In this class may perhaps be mentioned a well-known work, Captain David Porter's "Journal of a Cruise made in the Pacific Ocean in the United States Frigate *Essex*, in the years 1812, '13 and '14."

Much less known is P. Finan's "Journal of a Voyage to Quebec in the Year 1825, with Recollections of Canada during the late American War, in the Years 1812, 1813." In the second part of his book Mr. Finan gives his personal experiences in the war. He was with his father, an officer, at the burning of Toronto, April 27, 1813. As an eye-witness his record of that and other events is important.

I may dismiss this special phase of our subject with the mention of but one other work, "The Travels and Adventures of David C. Bunnell." After a life suspiciously full of romantic adventure, some none too creditable, Bunnell joined the American navy under Chauncey, served on Lake Ontario, 1812-13, and left Fort Niagara July 3, 1813, in Jesse Elliot's command, going from Buffalo to Put in Bay in open boats. According to his narrative, he was on the *Lawrence* during the Battle of Lake Erie, and afterwards was put on the schooner *Chippewa*, as second in command, and ran her between Put in Bay and Detroit "as a packet," being finally caught in a gale, blown the whole length of Lake Erie and driven ashore upon the beach about a quarter of a mile below Buffalo Creek. He landed safely, remaining in Buffalo until Perry and Barclay arrived and were given a public dinner, on which occasion, he says, "I managed a field piece and fired for the toasts." His account of his services and adventures on the Lakes appears to be veracious, which is more than can be said of some portions of his romantic but highly entertaining chronicle. It may be noted that his book was issued in the same year and apparently from the same press as the rare first edition of the

Book of Mormon, being printed at Palmyra, N. Y., by Grandin in 1831.

A considerable shelf, perhaps "five feet long," could be filled with stories of the War of 1812. My studies of American history have well-nigh convinced me that that war was fought, not to maintain American rights on the high seas, but to stimulate the development of American letters by supplying picturesque material for budding romancers. The only drawback to that theory is that the straightforward unadorned record of the old sea duels, like that of the *Constitution* and the *Guerrière*, has more thrills in it than the romancers can invent. But for well-nigh a century the novelists have hovered about this period, like bumble-bees in a field of clover. The war on the Lakes and the Niagara frontier has had a share of their attention. There are boys' books with Perry for a hero—always with the introduction of things more or less impossible to the character. The events of 1812-14 on the Niagara have been much used by Canadian story-writers. There is "Hemlock," by Robert Sellars (Montreal, 1890), which follows many of the events of the war in our district and is none the less worthy of American readers because its point of view and sympathies are so notably Canadian. A work of greater merit is "Neville Trueman, the Pioneer Preacher, a Tale of 1812," by W. H. Withrow, published in Toronto in 1886. The fictitious characters mingle with the real, at Queenston Heights, Fort George, the burning of Niagara, Chippewa and Lundy's Lane. It is a simple tale, with no affectations; and it makes a record which we are glad to have of high character and worthy impulses. There were true patriots in Canada in those days, and it is wholesome to read of them, no matter on which side of the boundary one may live. In this class belongs Amy E.

Blanchard's tale, "A Loyal Lass; a Story of the Niagara Campaign of 1814." The list might be much extended.

If this war has inspired the production of fiction, it has also proved, at least in the earlier years, an unfailing fount of inspiration for the poets. I do not know of much poetry produced in England on this account. The affair does not appear to have presented a poetic aspect to British authors. But to many an American, especially of the type easily fired to extravagant patriotic expression, it was provocative of wonderful results. Some worthy poets produced true poetry with this war as the theme. Some of the patriotic songs of Philip Freneau deserve the place they have held in American literature for a century. Samuel Woodworth's "Heroes of the Lake," a poem in two books, contains excellent lines. So long a production could hardly fail of being good at intervals. Many of Woodworth's poems, odes, songs, and other metrical effusions were based on incidents in this war. So was John Davis' "The American Mariners," vouched for on the title page as "A moral poem, to which are added Naval Annals," a delightful combination of the flight of Pegasus and the most uninspired of statistics. This work, first published at Salisbury, England, in 1822, has had at least two or more editions.

I can only mention such works as the "Court of Neptune and the Curse of Liberty," New York, 1817; the "Columbian Naval Songster," and other collections, containing numerous songs celebrating the exploits of Perry, Macdonough and others; and "The Battle of the Thames," being an extract from the unpublished work, entitled "Tecumseh," the author veiling his identity as "A Young American."

Thomas Pierce's "The Muse of Hesperia, a Poetic Reverie," appeared in Cincinnati in 1823. A note in

Thomson's Bibliography of Ohio says of this work: "For this poem the author was awarded a gold medal by the Philomanthic Society of Cincinnati College, in November, 1821, but he never claimed the prize." It relates mainly to the events of the War of 1812 in the Northwest, and contains notes relating to persons and events mentioned in the text.

In Halifax, in 1815, there appeared "A Poetical Account of the American Campaigns of 1812 and '13, with some slight sketches relating to Party Politics which governed the United States during the War and at its Commencement," dedicated to the people of Canada by the publisher, said publisher being John Howe, Jr.

"The Year," a poem in three cantos, by William Leigh Pierce, was published in New York in 1813. Appended to the poem are 70 pages of historical notes, the whole production being intended as a poetical history of the times, including the War of 1812 so far as it had then progressed.

A poetical curio is "The Bladensburg Races," written shortly after the capture of Washington City, August 24, 1814. The poem ridicules the flight of President Madison and household to Bladensburg, and the erudite author adds an illuminating note: "Probably it is not generally known that the flight of Mahomet, the flight of John Gilpin and the flight of Bladensburg, all occurred on the 24th of August."

The local bibliophile¹ or collector would wish me to mention "The Narrative of the Life, Travels and Adventures of Captain Israel Adams who lived at Liverpool, Onondaga County, N. Y., the man who during the last War [1812] surprised the British lying in the Bay of Quonti; Who

1. The meeting at which this paper was read was held at Napanee, near the Bay of Quinte.

took by strategem the Brig *Toronto* and took her to Sackett's Harbor, and for whom the British offered a reward of \$500."

Of peculiar local interest to those of us who live on the Niagara is David Thompson's "History of the Late War," etc., published at Niagara, Upper Canada, in 1832; one of the earliest of Upper Canada imprints and a better one, I venture to say, than old Niagara could turn out today. It is not a soothing book for a thin-skinned American to read. If it should fall into the hands of such a singular, not to say exceptional, individual, he could find balm, if not, indeed, a counter-irritant, in James Butler's "American Bravery Displayed in the Capture of 1,400 vessels of war and commerce since the Declaration of War by the President." This volume of 322 pages, published in 1816, did not have the unanimous endorsal of the British press.

As I survey the literature of this period I find no bolder utterance, no fiercer defiance of Great Britain's "Hordes," than in the sonorous stanzas of some of our gentle poets. Iambic defiance, unless kindled by a grand genius, is a poor sort of fireworks, even when it undertakes to combine patriotism and appreciation of natural scenery. Certainly something might be expected of a poet who sandwiches Niagara Falls in between bloody battles and gives us the magnificent in nature, the gallant in warfare and the loftiest patriotism in purpose, the three strains woven in a triple pæan of passion, 94 duodecimo pages in length. Such a work was offered to the world at Baltimore in 1818, with this title-page: "Battle of Niagara, a Poem without Notes, and Goldau, or the Maniac Harper. Eagles and Stars and Rainbows. By Jehu O'Cataract, author of 'Keep Cool.'" I have never seen "Keep Cool," but it must be very different from the "Battle of Niagara," or it belies its name. The

fiery Jehu O'Cataract was John Neal, or "Yankee Neal," as he was called.

The "Battle of Niagara," he informs the reader, was written when he was a prisoner; when he "felt the victories of his countrymen." The poem has a metrical introduction and four cantos, in which is told, none too lucidly, the story of the battle of Niagara, with such flights of eagles, scintillation of stars and breaking of rainbows, that no quotation can do it justice. In style it is now Miltonic, now reminiscent of Walter Scott. The opening canto is mainly an apostrophe to the Bird, and a vision of glittering horsemen. Canto two is a dissertation on Lake Ontario, with word-pictures of the primitive Indian. The rest of the poem is devoted to the battle near the great cataract—and throughout all are sprinkled the eagles, stars and rainbows. Do not infer from this that the production is wholly bad; it is merely a good specimen of that early American poetry which was just bad enough to escape being good.

A still more ambitious work is "The Fredoniad, or Independence Preserved," an epic poem by Richard Emmons, a Kentuckian, afterwards a physician of Philadelphia. He worked on it for 10 years, finally printed it in 1826, and in 1830 got it through a second edition, ostentatiously dedicated to Lafayette. "The Fredoniad" is a history of the War of 1812 in verse. It was published in four volumes; it has 40 cantos, filling 1,404 duodecimo pages, or a total length of about 42,000 lines. The first and second cantos are devoted to Hell, the third to Heaven, and the fourth to Detroit. About one-third of the whole work is occupied with military operations on the Niagara frontier. Nothing from Fort Erie to Fort Niagara escapes this metre-machine. The Doctor's poetic feet stretch out to miles and leagues,

but not a single verse do I find that prompts to quotation; though I am free to confess I have not read them all, and much doubt if anyone, save the infatuated author, and perhaps a long-suffering proofreader, ever did read the whole of "The Fredoniad."

I have already mentioned several very rare books and pamphlets; but if asked to designate the rarest of all on the War of 1812, I should name a 15-page pamphlet, published without title-page at the Regimental Press, Bangalore, India, dealing with the relations between British agents and Indians in the Northwest after the Treaty of Ghent. But 20 copies were printed. It contains letters from Lieut.-Col. McDowell to His Excellency Sir F. P. Robinson, Drummond Island, September 24, 1815, and later dates; and an account of the proceedings of a court of inquiry held to investigate charges, preferred by the United States Government, that the Indians had been stimulated by the British agents to a continuance of hostilities since the Peace. This publication, issued three-quarters of a century or so after the event, from a regimental press in India, is an effort to show that the Indians were not so stimulated; all the stimulus they received from the British agents, it may be presumed, was of an entirely different kind.

The field of biography in its relation to our general subject is vast. Around such figures as Andrew Jackson and William Henry Harrison there has developed a mass of literature which, if thoroughly listed and analyzed, would constitute a considerable bibliography in itself. There are biographies and memoirs of most of the British admirals and other naval and military commanders in active service during this period. In our list must be included the life stories of Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, Lewis Cass,

Joshua Barney, Commodore Bainbridge, Winfield Scott, Oliver Hazard Perry, Thomas Macdonough, Henry Clay, Josiah Quincy, John Quincy Adams, George Cabot, and many other makers of American history.

Of the British and Canadian officers we have admirable biographies, including those of General Brock, Admiral Broke, Admiral Sir Edward Codrington, and others.

The Treaty of Ghent is the subject of numerous publications. An excellent account of the proceedings of the commissioners, and especially of the difficulties met and overcome by the American representatives, is by Thomas Wilson, in the *Magazine of American History*, November, 1888. A most interesting work on this subject is the scarce quarto, published in London in 1850, entitled "*Mémoires d'un Voyageur qui se repose.*" It is the private journal and correspondence of a diplomatist in the secret service of England. He is here designated by the pseudonym of "Miller," and appears to have been entrusted with four separate special missions to America, one of which, in 1814-15, was to exchange the ratifications of the Treaty of Ghent. The volume contains a mass of private information on diplomatic relations between Great Britain and the United States, including a journal of the signing of the Treaty of Ghent.

A noticeable, not to say notable, feature of much of this literature is its partisanship. Especially in statistical matters, such as the numerical strength of the contending forces, the number of guns or the weight of metal—matters which one would suppose would have been settled by the official reports—there has existed for a century, and still exists, utterly irreconcilable divergence. The unbiased student of this period, who seeks only to learn the facts, is still bewildered and in doubt when he compares American

with Canadian or English accounts. If the bitterness and rancour of the old books has abated in these later days of courtesy and fair speech, the divergence of record, though perhaps dispassionately stated, still exists. An instance is the battle of Lundy's Lane, which at last accounts was still being fought.

It may not be a wholly whimsical proposition to suggest, as a feature of our centenary of peace, the establishment of an international commission—by this Society, say, on the one hand, and the American Historical Association on the other—whose task should be, if possible, the production of a simply-told history of the War of 1812, which should meet with equal commendation as a truthful and unprejudiced chronicle on both sides of the border. But perhaps I suggest the impossible.

I could say much of the ever-lengthening list of modern studies of this or that phase of the war; such, for instance, as Nicholas Murray Butler's "Influence of the War of 1812 upon the Consolidation of the American Union," Captain A. T. Mahan's "Sea Power in its Relation to the War of 1812," and very many others, usually revealing a better grasp of the significance of events than the earlier works, and usually, too, written in a better temper. Not least among these modern studies is the notable group of papers which at this meeting we listen to with great satisfaction.

THE CASE OF
ALEXANDER SMYTH

THE CASE OF BRIG. GEN. ALEXANDER SMYTH

AS SHOWN BY HIS OWN WRITINGS, SOME OF
THEM NOW FIRST PUBLISHED

By FRANK H. SEVERANCE

A singular figure in the war operations of 1812 on the Niagara Frontier was Alexander Smyth, a Virginian, who at the outbreak of the war with England was an inspector general in the regular army of the United States. In September, 1812, he was assigned to the command of a brigade of regulars, to operate under Major General Van Rensselaer on the Niagara. Smyth is said to have aspired to the chief command in this quarter; and it was probably pique at being made second in command, and subordinate to a militia officer, that led him to assume from the first an insolent and at times insubordinate attitude towards his chief. If he was proud, he was also often ridiculous; and has been remembered for a century, chiefly because of certain bombastic proclamations which he issued during his short career in Buffalo and vicinity. Historians for a hundred years have written of him only in a vein of amused contempt. Lossing calls him "supercilious, dictatorial, impertinent." Samuel Williams, whose "Sketches of the War," published in 1815, is a trustworthy and temperate chronicle, characterizes Smyth as "indecisive, puerile and cowardly." One looks in vain through all the vast literature of the war of 1812 for any word in refutation of these

charges. The kindest utterance in regard to him that I have found is in the "Memoirs" of Gen. James Wilkinson (himself not beyond criticism, as students know), where one reads of Smyth: "Were I to hazard an opinion, it should be that his designs were patriotic, but that his ardor obscured his judgment, and that he was more indiscreet than culpable."¹

For some years the Buffalo Historical Society has owned a few of General Smyth's letters in the original manuscript. There lately came into its possession his own manuscript draft of his most famous "proclamation" to his soldiers. A resident of Buffalo who owns a long and interesting letter of General Smyth, not known to have been published, has kindly allowed the Historical Society to make use of it. From these and other sources—especially from the *Buffalo Gazette* of 1812—several of General Smyth's letters, and sundry facts regarding his activities in our region, are here brought together. With a desire to do all possible justice to General Smyth, we print his own words, so far as procurable. As for the rest, the reader will find it a not wholly undiverting chapter of events on the Niagara in the momentous year of 1812.

On arriving at Buffalo with his troops, Brigadier General Smyth wrote to Major General Van Rensselaer, whose headquarters were at Lewiston, as follows:

BUFFALO, 29th September, 1812.

SIR: I have been ordered by Major General Dearborn to Niagara, to take command of a brigade of the U. S. troops; and directed, on my arrival in the vicinity of your quarters, to report myself to you, which I now do. I intended to have reported myself personally; but the conclusions I have drawn as to the interests of the service,

1. "Memoirs," I., 581.

have determined me to stop at this place, for the present. From the description I have had of the river below the Falls, the view of the shore below Fort Erie, and the information received as to the preparations of the enemy, I am of opinion that our crossing should be effected between Fort Erie and Chippewa. It has therefore seemed to me proper to encamp the U. S. troops near Buffalo, there to prepare for offensive operations. Your instructions, or better information, may decide you to give me different orders, which I will await.

I have the honor [etc.],

ALEXANDER SMYTH.

Instead of rebuking his subordinate officer for failing to report in person at headquarters, and for offensively putting forward his own views before learning the views of his chief, the too-tolerant but ever-courteous Van Rensselaer replied at length, reminding Smyth that he (Van Rensselaer) had long been familiar with the banks of the Niagara and adjacent territory. "However willing I may be," he wrote, "as a citizen soldier, to surrender my opinion to a professional one, I can only make such surrender to an opinion deliberately formed upon a view of the whole ground." Stating his reasons and plan of campaign with dignity and patience, he adds: "I hope soon to have the pleasure of seeing you here."

What an exhibition of weakness in a commanding officer! Nothing could better illustrate the incapacity which made the campaign of 1812 a costly farce.

Unrebuked, and apparently without having taken the trouble to report in person to his chief, General Smyth wrote a few days later:

CAMP NEAR BUFFALO, Oct. 2, 1812.

SIR: I have had the honor to receive your letter of the 30th Sept., dated at Lewiston. The detachments of Col.

Winder and Col. Parker have arrived. They are recruits without clothing and with little instruction. Neither of them have medicine chests. Col. Winder's detachment is already encamped on an excellent piece of ground for exercise, where Col. Parker's will join it today. Col. Milton's detachment will also arrive today; and within a week I expect the other detachments. I have taken quarters at the place, and propose to devote six hours daily to their instruction, in discipline and evolutions.

The delay of a part until the whole arrive cannot possibly be injurious, and any order I may receive will be obeyed with alacrity.

There has been a mutiny in the 5th, and a general court martial has become necessary. Should you deem it proper to order one to be held at this camp, Col. Parker might preside, and the other members be detached by my Brigade Major.

I have the honour to be

Very Respectfully,

ALEXANDER SMYTH.

This letter shows a more proper spirit than the earlier one; but Smyth's utterances and his conduct are seldom in accord. October 6th, General Van Rensselaer summoned Major General Hall, Brigadier General Smyth, and other officers, to attend a conference; on the 10th we find General Hall writing to the commander-in-chief: "I saw General Smyth yesterday; he could not tell the day when he would attend at Niagara for the consultation." That day Van Rensselaer ordered Smyth to bring his command, "with all possible dispatch," to Lewiston. Smyth did not do so; and after the first attempt at Queenston had failed, he was ordered to remain at Buffalo. Had he hastened to the support of his chief at Lewiston, the result of the attempt of October 13th might have been different.

Smyth always had at easy command a fine-sounding phrase. On October 8th, on the eve of Lieut. Jesse D.

Elliott's capture of the British brigs *Detroit* and *Caledonia*, our brigadier wrote to that gallant officer as follows:

SIR: Mr. Prestman will bring you the aid we can give; he is a gallant young man, and I request he may be allowed to accompany you. The God who protects the brave guard you and give you success.

The day before the battle of Queenston Smyth wrote to Van Rensselaer as follows:

CAMP NEAR BUFFALO, 12th Oct., 1812.

SIR: I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter at ten o'clock p. m. The badness of the weather and roads harassed the troops yesterday more than can well be conceived. Tomorrow I expect their clothing, and they will wash; next day they might march, to the number of 1200 effective men,¹ but imperfectly disciplined. It is said the enemy are in considerable force opposite to Black Rock; and as Lt. Cols. Scott and Christie have arrived with you, the time for your attack is favorable—and may you conquer! is my prayer.

I have the honor to be, with great respect,

Your most obedient

ALEX. SMYTH,

Brig. General.

Major Gen. VAN RENSSELAER.

To General Sheaffe, who since the death of Brock had succeeded to the chief command in Upper Canada, Smyth sent the following, from Buffalo:

October 18, 1812.

. . . As I am averse to taking a single life or occasioning a single calamity without an object, I propose a further continuance of the armistice indefinitely, each party to have a right to terminate it, giving thirty hours' notice

1. Smyth had in camp at Buffalo at this time 1,650 regulars, according to a "return of troops" dated Oct. 12th.

to the other party, the armistice to extend along the frontier from Lake Erie to Lake Ontario.

Two days later he wrote to William Eustis, the Secretary of War:

NEAR BUFFALO, October 20, 1812.

SIR: On the 16th inst. General Van Rensselaer by a general order invested me with the command of the troops between the Lakes Erie and Ontario, with power to order general courts martial and exercise the authority of commander of a great military district.

On the 18th instant, I ordered Colonel Winder (an admirable officer) to Fort Niagara; on the 19th I broke up the camp at Lewiston, ordered the militia, such as had not deserted, and excepting the artillery, to Schlosser; the artillery were put under Colonel Winder's command, and would most of them take post on the mountain opposite Queenston. Colonel Parker, with the detachments of the 12th and 20th, will take post on a small creek near Black Rock and collect the boats. Colonel Schuyler, with the detachments of the 5th and 13th, will take a position near him. The volunteers will encamp near Buffalo.

In the small creek I mention, I wish to have one hundred boats that will carry across at once four thousand men, and twenty or thirty scows or flats to take over artillery or cavalry; and if you will increase my force to eight thousand men, with twenty pieces of light or field artillery and some troops of cavalry, I will enter Canada and leave the rest to Heaven.

Place no confidence in detached militia. They have disgraced the nation. Do not rely on the contractor for provisions. He has no salt meat and only damaged flour. If you have any compassion on the service send money either to Lieutenant Allison, my brigade quartermaster, or some other public agent, under my orders. Without it we cannot supply the contractors' deficiencies; we cannot get transportation by land, build boats, procure forage or any thing else wanted by the army. Give me here *a clear stage*, men and *money*, and I will retrieve your affairs or perish.

To General Dearborn he wrote as follows:

CAMP NEAR BUFFALO, Oct. 24th, 1812.

SIR: I have had the honor to receive your letter of the 21st instant, and shall fail in nothing in my power to retrieve the state of our affairs.

The affair at Queenston diminished our force 2000 men; one-half of which were killed, wounded and prisoners, and the other half deserted or were discharged, in consequence of some battalions being greatly reduced.

General Van Rensselaer transferred to me the command on the 15th and on the 16th, I broke up the camp at Lewiston, sent the 14th Infantry, under Colonel Winder, to Niagara, the militia artillery to a battery opposite the Heights of Queenston, the militia infantry and riflemen to Schlosser, and I returned with the 5th, 13th, 12th and 20th to my camp near Buffalo; the troops of the Light and 2nd Artillery are at Black Rock.

In a creek at Black Rock I am collecting boats, and there I propose to cross. The Canadian shore is easy of access from Erie to Chippewa. There are some batteries opposite Black Rock which I can have carried when I please.

Boats are wanting. I have sent to have those which Chrystie brought to Niagara carried to Schlosser; this will be a difficult work. Scows are wanting and essential. As yet I have no funds.

The reinforcement you mention I hope will encourage those under my command. It is said 500 soldiers have arrived at Fort George since the battle, that the Indians have gone home to gather their corn, and that three-fourths of the militia are called into service. As the enemy's regular troops and flankers amount to 3000 men, their militia, if called out as said, may swell their force to 10,000 men.

It has seemed to me, Sir, that the three armies should strike on the same day. If not, the command of the Lakes will enable the enemy to beat us in detail.

The sailors here will furnish me with excellent boatmen. I shall take the opinions of a few of my most enlightened officers at times, but I will decide.

There is some difficulty in giving Colonel Parker a brigade, as Schuyler contests his right to rank. Winder is an officer of the first class.

In consequence of the loss of five companies of the 13th, I consolidated the 5th and 13th, as was done by the Adjutant-General in the case of the 12th and 20th. In consequence, Milton asked and obtained a furlough. His regiment was badly governed and I found I had nothing to expect from him.

I do not expect the contractor to supply us with provisions. I received a number of returns at Lewiston; "unfit for duty for want of provisions."

We much want some cannon of large calibre, for the fort of Niagara and the batteries of Black Rock. A powerful battery at the latter place would protect our landing at noon-day.

The ship carpenters have gone off, which I much regret.

Colonel Porter will doubtless be of great service to us, but I should have preferred his coming to Black Rock.

I shall keep you advised of our progress.

Six days later he wrote again to General Dearborn:

CAMP NEAR BUFFALO, Oct. 30, 1812.

SIR: I have had the honor to receive today at 4 o'clock p. m. your letter of the 28th instant.

We may in a few days have together 70 boats that would carry over 3500 men, but we have no scows. I have set all the carpenters and some citizens to building of scows. We want tools and materials. The Deputy Quartermaster gives it as his opinion that we can have ten scows in twenty days.

I would cross in three days if I had the means; without them it would be an injustice to the nation and myself to attempt it. I must not be defeated.

The New York Greens and a troop of volunteer cavalry have arrived. The Twenty-third Regiment, the Pennsylvania Volunteers and those from Baltimore have not arrived.

The Deputy Quartermaster has brought on checks instead of money, and he is unable to make payments. His letter to the Quartermaster General is enclosed, and I request that money may be sent to him immediately.

If I can beat the enemy on the plains of Erie and take that place I will find means to get to Fort George, whatever may become of the bridge at Chippewa.

I have the honor to be [etc.],

ALEX. SMYTH.

Still another letter to General Dearborn may here follow:

CAMP NEAR BUFFALO, Nov. 9, 1812.

SIR: Colonel McFeely arrived on the 1st instant with about 180 men of the 22d. Captain Archer's company of artillery arrived on the 4th instant, and today Colonel Brown, with 190 infantry, and also the light artillery, arrived.

I have sent an officer to meet the Pennsylvanians. He had gone as far as Erie when I last heard of him without meeting them. They are volunteers to supply that State's quota of militia. Can they be forced to cross the line? I am told they will refuse.

One of the aids of the Governor of New York has been at Schlosser in the capacity of the Deputy Adjutant General, making a new organization of the militia there. I caused them to encamp by themselves—not a soldier within ten miles of them. One hundred of them deserted the next night after the Governor's aid left them.

What most disturbs me is the ill-health of the troops. The measles has affected many, and the want of salt meat, of ovens, and exposure to cold, until lately without winter clothing has produced dysenteries and other diseases. Our hospitals are filled with sick and wounded, and new cases of disease are occurring daily.

Colonel Winder of the 14th is coming to this place from Niagara. I shall trust the defence of it to two companies of artillery and Lieut.-Colonel McFeely's corps of infantry, which will march tomorrow.

The contractors have failed to supply, and I have ordered purchases of provisions for Fort Niagara.

Between the 20th and the 30th instant I shall be ready to cross the river with about 1300 regular infantry, 300 artillery, 600 volunteers and 70 cavalry (if you will allow me Captain Morgan's troop). In this estimate is not included the Pennsylvania and New York militia.

Two regiments will proceed on tomorrow to commence building huts. If we cannot stay on the other side, we shall have a shelter ready for the sick and wounded.

P. S. A district paymaster with money is necessary. The volunteers cannot be retained in service unless paid.

Lieutenant Gansevoort of the artillery, who states he was appointed district paymaster, was ordered to Albany more than three weeks since to procure funds. I have heard that he is sick. Colonel Brown's regiment mutinied at Manlius on account of their pay.

The following statement from General Smyth was also sent, November 9th, to his superior officer :

General Smyth conceives the following facts should be known and considered by the Secretary of War :

1. That the 5th Regiment at Utica, on its march, did mutiny for want of their pay.

2. That the 23d Regiment at Manlius did mutiny on account of their pay, which is still due.

3. That a company of volunteers at Buffalo did mutiny on account of their pay and clothing.

4. That the captain of another volunteer company, the best in the service, has stated that he believes his men will not cross into Canada without their pay and allowance for clothing.

5. That the Deputy Quartermaster General states himself to be without money.

6. That there is no district paymaster at Niagara supplied with money.

7. That Colonel Winder, commanding at Fort Niagara, reports, "We are literally starving on this end of the line,

for bread." In consequence of which the Deputy-Quarter-master has been ordered to purchase provisions.

8. That 1800 Pennsylvania volunteers will arrive next week.

9. That General Smyth will be ready in fifteen days to cross into Canada.

The military conditions on the Niagara frontier at this time are too well known to students of the war of 1812 to call for extended recital here. While General Smyth's utterances by no means give the whole situation, they clearly exhibit many striking features of the time. A deputation of Indians having waited on him, about November 9th, he was afforded an opportunity exactly to his liking; and made them the following speech:

BROTHERS: I thank you for the tender of your services in the defence of the United States which you have made, and in their name accept them in case the troops and the Indians of the British King should invade the United States which I expect they will not dare to attempt.

It is the desire of Your Great Father the President that you should take no part in the war between the United States and Great Britain, but remain at peace and take care of your wives and children.

The British nation is not able to maintain the contest against the United States on this great island without help. They ask the Indians for help, who have given it and will be ruined by doing so.

We are able to beat the British without help, and although we understand that you are willing to help us if we ask it yet we do not ask it. The quarrel is ours, not yours and we will fight our own battles.

Brothers! hold fast the chain of friendship between you and the United States, who are great, powerful, just and good and will vanquish all your enemies and protect all their friends.

After the disaster of Queenston, General Van Rensselaer resigned, and General Smyth succeeded him as chief in command on the Niagara. From his Buffalo camp, November 10th, he issued the following famous

PROCLAMATION.

TO THE MEN OF NEW YORK: For many years you have seen your country oppressed with numerous wrongs. Your Government, altho above all others devoted to peace, has been forced to draw the sword, and rely for redress of injuries on the valor of the American people.

That valor has been conspicuous. But the nation has been unfortunate in the election of some of those who have directed it. One army has been disgracefully surrendered and lost. Another has been sacrificed by a precipitated attempt to pass over at the strongest point of the enemies lines, with most incompetent means. The cause of these miscarriages is apparent. The commanders were popular men, "destitute alike of theory and experience" in the art of war.

In a few days the troops under my command will plant the American standard in Canada. They are men accustomed to obedience, silence and steadiness. They will conquer or they will die.

Will you stand by with your arms folded and look on this interesting struggle? Are you not related to the men who fought at Bennington and Saratoga? Has the race degenerated? Or have you under the baneful influence of contending factions forgot your country? Must I turn from you, and ask the men of the Six Nations to support the Government of the United States? Shall I imitate the officers of the British king—and suffer our ungathered laurels to be tarnished by ruthless deeds? Shame! where is thy blush? No—where I command, the vanquished and the peaceful man—the child, the maid and the matron shall be secured from wrong. If we conquer we will "Conquer but to save."

MEN OF NEW YORK: The present is the hour of renown. Have you not a wish for fame? Would you not choose in future times to be named as one who, imitating the heroes whom Montgomery led, have in spite of the sea-

sons, visited the tomb of the chief and conquered the country where he lies? Yes—You desire your share of fame. Then seize the present moment. If you do not you will regret it; and say “the valiant bled in vain”—the friends of my country fell and I was not there.

Advance then to our aid. I will wait for you a few days. I cannot give you the day of my departure. But come on, come in companies, half companies, or singly. Ride to this place, if the distance is far and send back your horses. But remember, that every man who accompanies us places himself under my command, and shall submit to the salutary restraints of discipline.

ALEXANDER SMYTH,
Brig. Gen.

Camp near Buffalo, 10th Nov., 1812.

This proclamation, which was intended to gather at Buffalo recruits from every part of New York State he could reach, accomplished little except to offend the Federalists, many of whom were in his ranks. A week later he issued another proclamation, as follows:

TO THE SOLDIERS OF THE ARMY OF THE CENTRE.

COMPANIONS IN ARMS!

The time is at hand when you will cross the stream of Niagara, to conquer Canada, and to secure the peace of the American frontier.

You will enter a country that is to be one of the United States. You will arrive among a people who are to become your fellow-citizens. It is not against *them* that we come to make war. It is against that government which holds them as vassals.

You will make this war as little as possible distressful to the Canadian people. If they are peaceable, they are to be secure in their persons; and in their property, as far as our imperious necessities will allow.

Private plundering is absolutely forbidden. Any soldier who quits his rank to plunder on the field of battle, will be punished in the most exemplary manner.

But your just rights as soldiers will be maintained. Whatever is *booty* by the usages of war, you shall have. All horses belonging to artillery and cavalry; all waggons and teams in public service will be sold for the benefit of the captors. Public stores will be secured for the service of the United States. The Government will, with justice, pay you the value.

The horses drawing the light artillery of the enemy, are wanted for the service of the United States. I will order *two hundred dollars* for each, to be paid to the party who may take them.

I will also order *forty dollars* to be paid for the arms and spoils of each savage warrior who shall be killed.

Soldiers! You are amply provided for war. You are superior in number to the enemy. Your personal strength and activity are greater. Your weapons are longer. The regular soldiers of the enemy are generally old men, whose best years have been spent in the sickly climate of the West Indies. They will not be able to stand before you, when you charge with the bayonet.

You have seen Indians, such as those hired by the British to murder women and children, and kill and scalp the wounded. You have seen their dances and grimaces, and heard their yells. Can you fear *them*? No. You hold them in the utmost contempt.

VOLUNTEERS!

Disloyal and traitorous men have endeavored to dissuade you from doing your duty. Sometimes they say, if you enter Canada, you will be held to service for five years. At others, they say, that you will not be furnished with supplies. At other times they say, that if you are wounded, the Government will not provide for you by pensions.

The just and generous course pursued by the Government towards the volunteers who fought at Tippecanoe,

furnishes an answer to the last objection. The others are too absurd to deserve any.

VOLUNTEERS! I esteem your generous and patriotic motives. You have made sacrifices on the altar of your country. You will not suffer the enemies of your fame to mislead you from the path of duty and honor, and deprive you of the esteem of a grateful country. You will shun the *eternal infamy* that awaits the man, who having come within sight of the enemy, *basely* shrinks in the moment of trial.

SOLDIERS OF EVERY CORPS! It is in your power to retrieve the honor of your country; and to cover yourselves with glory. Every man who performs a gallant action, shall have his name made known to the nation. Rewards and honors await the brave. Infamy and contempt are reserved for cowards. Companions in arms! You came to vanquish a valliant foe. I know the choice you will make. Come on my heroes! And when you attack the enemy's batteries, let your rallying word be "*The cannon lost at Detroit—or death.*"

ALEX. SMYTH.

Brig. Gen. commanding.

CAMP, near Buffalo, Nov. 17, 1812.

Those amazing productions won for their valiant author the derision of friend and foe. He was dubbed "Alexander the Great" and "Napoleon the Second." A contributor to the New York *Evening Post* wrote:

"Just so! (and every wiser head
The likeness can discover),
We put a chestnut in the fire,
And pull the embers over;
And while it waxes hot and hotter,
And eke begins to hop,
And after much confounded pother
Explodes a mighty *Pop!*!"

Yet it was on a man of this calibre that the United States Government relied, for a time, in Buffalo and on the Niagara!

Smyth became very busy, but not at all secret, in planning his invasion of Canada. From his Buffalo camp he sent to many officers the following orders:¹

HEAD QUARTERS, 23d Nov. 1812.

SIR: Be pleased to attend in a council of War today at Landon's in Buffalo at 3 in the evening.

Very respectfully Yr most obt

ALEXANDER SMYTH,
Brig. Gen. com'g.

"Landon's" was the tavern at Buffalo, the most popular rendezvous on the frontier; but no letters which have been preserved, nor the incomplete files of the *Buffalo Gazette* afford a report of this "council of war." There was, soon enough, war between Smyth and Porter, the latter not endorsing Smyth's plans nor the duty of submitting to all his bizarre orders. One of them, preserved by the Buffalo Historical Society, runs as follows:

General Porter will please issue Provisions for a party of militia who will present this & commence organising them giving them tents, &c.

ALEXANDER SMYTH,
Brig. Gen'l com'g.

19th Nov. 1812.

On November 21st General Smyth wrote to Brigadier General Adamson Tannehill "to ascertain whether there are any companies in your brigade who will refuse to serve the United States in Canada," adding: "I deem it essential we should know on whom we may rely with confidence." General Tannehill, who was encamped at "Granger's Farm"—then some four miles northeast of Buffalo, now a pleasant residence section of the city, known as Parkside—replied, November 22d, that to learn the facts, he had con-

1. The original MS. of this order, preserved by the Buffalo Historical Society, is addressed to Brig. Gen. Peter B. Porter.

vened his field officers in camp: "The prevailing opinion appears to be that if an efficient force can be had to cross into Canada a very general embarkation of my brigade may be expected. If, on the contrary, it is difficult for me to say what number may be calculated on." A "return" of his force which he sent to General Smyth, though nominally of four regiments, showed only 413 officers and men "who have volunteered to cross the boundary line in the Province of Upper Canada to assist in establishing the American standard in that Province."

On November 15th several offending soldiers were court-martialed at Buffalo. Major Campbell was assigned to conduct the proceedings, but in the findings, the fine hand of "the General" appears. Some of the offenses were trivial. The most serious was the mutiny of 31 men on November 4th, for which Captain John Phillips was tried because "he did not use his utmost endeavor to suppress the same." The court acquitted Captain Phillips, but the report of the court-martial has the following appended:

"The General believing that the *mind* of Captain Phillips was not guilty, confirms the sentence of the court; and orders that he resume his sword, and return to his duty."

Few commanding officers in like cases, have shown such discrimination.

General Smyth's idea, from his first coming to Buffalo, had been to invade Canada at some point between Chipewewa and Fort Erie. His proclamations, although laughed at, had undoubtedly brought in many recruits. Porter himself had sent Smyth's "eloquent appeal," as he termed it, to the men of Ontario and Genesee counties. On November 25th Smyth issued orders for "the whole army to be ready to march at a moment's warning": "The tents will be left standing, officers will carry their knapsacks. The

baggage will follow in convenient time." His manuscript orders for this date contain the following directions for attack:

1. The artillery will spend some of their first shot on the enemy's artillery, and then aim at the infantry raking them where it is practicable.

2. The firing of musketry by wings or companies will begin at the distance of 200 yards, aiming at the middle and firing deliberately.

3. At 20 yards' distance the soldiers will be ordered to trail arms, advance with shouts, fire at five paces' distance, and charge bayonets.

4. The soldiers will be *silent* above all things, attentive at the word of command, load quick and well, and *aim low*.

By the 27th, everything was ready for the invasion. The troops gathered at Black Rock mustered about 4500, made up of Smyth's regulars, the Baltimore Volunteers under Colonel Winder, the Pennsylvania Volunteers under General Tannehill, and the New York Volunteers under General Porter. To this last-named officer General Smyth wrote, apparently on this day:¹

DR GEN'L: This day put forth your utmost exertions. Have 2 or 3 days provisions ready to send over the water. Let a faithfull party scour the bank from the mouth of Buffalo to Scarajocaty (*sic*) and gather every boat that will swim; there lies a very good one not far from your house.

Tell the brave men under your command not to be impatient. See what harm impatience did at Queenstown. Let them be firm, and they will succeed.

Very respectfully yr most obt

ALEXANDER SMYTH.

P. S. What do you think of a landing opposite the upper part of Grand Island?

[To Brig. Gen. Porter.]

1. Undated MS. owned by the Buffalo Historical Society.

The operations of the next two days were hopelessly bungled, a costly mistake. As the present purpose is less to trace events in detail, than to preserve General Smyth's writings, it may suffice to note that he had so long and loudly proclaimed his intentions of invading Canada, that the enemy were well prepared for him at any point above the Falls, although the British force, from Chippewa to Fort Erie, probably did not exceed 1000 men. Smyth, at Black Rock, had over 5000—some accounts say 8000. Before daybreak of the 28th, some 420 men in 21 boats crossed towards the Canada shore, five miles below Fort Erie. As they neared the shore they were warmly greeted by a volley of musketry, whereupon six of the boats returned to Black Rock. The small force that landed was hotly engaged; many were taken prisoners; six were killed and 22 wounded; the rest of the invading party recrossed the river.

Many things connected with General Smyth's conduct of affairs appear incredible, but nothing is more amazing than his behavior on this 28th of November. From sunrise to late afternoon his army was embarking—the enemy on the other side of the river, in constantly-increasing numbers, looking on as at a show. General Smyth did not appear at all, leaving all details to his subordinates. For hours the troops shivered in the boats, some of which, stranded on the shore, filled with snow and ice. Late in the day, when at length everything seemed ready for a grand movement across the stream, General Smyth issued the amazing order: "Disembark and dine"! Disgusted and angered, the whole force was on the point of rebellion. Porter led his volunteers to Buffalo, where, that evening, General Smyth issued the following:¹

1. Here printed from General Smyth's own manuscript, in the possession of the Buffalo Historical Society.

SMYTH TO HIS "HEARTS OF WAR."

HEADQUARTERS, CAMP NEAR BUFFALO,
29th November, 1812.

Tomorrow at 8 o'clock, all the corps of the Army will be at the Navy yard, ready to embark. Before 9 the embarkation will take place. The General will be on board. Neither rain, snow, or frost will prevent the embarkation.

It will be made with more order and silence than yesterday; boats will be allotted to the brave volunteers.

Fifty men will go in each red boat. Forty men in each white boat. A piece of Artillery and its caisson in each scow; the artillery men and about 20 men of some other corps.

Seats will be put in the boats today, and oars added to the long boats, each of which will carry 80 or 100 men. Ropes will be provided that boats may take the scows in tow.

A field officer from each corps will attend at the Navy yard today, to see preparations made, and the boats arranged in order. They will cause seats to be made, and every other preparation.

The cavalry will scour the fields from Black rock to the bridge, & suffer no idle spectators.

While embarking the music will play martial airs. *Yankee doodle* will be the signal to get under way.

The regiments will act together, but without being scrupulously attentive to keep their places in line.

When we pull for the opposite shore, every exertion will be made. The landing will be effected in despite of cannon. The whole army has seen that cannon is to be little dreaded.

The information brought by Capt. Gibson assures us victory: But the enemy are as brave as we are, and will fight.

Hearts of War! Tomorrow will be memorable in the annals of the United States.

ALEXANDER SMYTH,
Brig. Gen'l com'g.

This assurance held the forces from open mutiny, that night. The morning of the 29th came, but there was no embarkation. The enemy were so obviously prepared at the point where Smyth proposed to land, that all his officers

insisted on a change of plan. Porter urged that a landing be made December 1st, before daylight, a little below the upper end of Grand Island, with a view to taking Chippewa, and to this plan Smyth reluctantly agreed; but on the day named, only 1500 embarked. The Pennsylvania brigade, and other troops, did not report for the embarkation, raising the old bugaboo, that they were not required to serve outside the State. The whole force was demoralized. Smyth with his rare gift for multiplying blunders, called a council of war, of regular army officers only, excluding all volunteers. From this council came presently the announcement that the invasion of Canada was abandoned. In his subsequent report to General Dearborn, Smyth stated that his orders were not to attempt the invasion with less than 3000 men. The volunteers were dismissed to their homes, and the regulars went into winter quarters at Buffalo and Williamsville.

Smyth was the object of execration throughout the State and country. The people of Western New York were so indignant at his conduct that they called on him for an explanation. To their committee, consisting of Messrs. George McClure, Lewis Birdsall, John Griffen and William B. Rochester, General Smyth addressed the following statement:

HEADQUARTERS, CAMP NEAR BUFFALO,
Dec. 3d, 1812.

GENTLEMEN: Your letter of the 2d December is before me; and I answer it in the following manner:

On the 26th October, I ordered that 20 scows should be prepared for the transportation of artillery and cavalry, and put the carpenters of the army upon that duty.

By the 26th of November, 10 scows were completed, and by bringing some boats from Lake Ontario, above the Falls of Niagara, the number was increased to 70.

I had on the 12th November, issued an address to the men of New York, and perhaps 300 had arrived at Buffalo. I presumed that the regular troops and the volunteers under Cols. Swift and McClure, would furnish 2300 men for duty; and of General Tannehill's brigade (from Pennsylvania) reporting a total of 1650, as many as 413 had volunteered to cross into Canada. My orders were to "cross with 3000 men at once." I deemed myself ready to fulfil them.

Preparatory thereto, on the night of the 27th November, I sent over two parties, one under Lt. Col. Boerstler, the other under Captain King, with whom Lieut. Angus of the Navy, at the head of a body of seamen, united. The first was to capture a guard and destroy a bridge about five miles below Fort Erie; the second party were to take and render useless the cannon of the enemy's batteries, and some pieces of light artillery. The first party failed to destroy the bridge; the second, after rendering unserviceable the light artillery, separated by some misapprehension. Lieut. Angus, the seaman, and a part of the troops, returned, with all the boats while Capt. King, Capt. Morgan, Capt. Sproule, Lieut. Houston and about 60 men remained. The party thus reduced, attacked, took and rendered unserviceable two of the enemy's batteries, captured 34 prisoners, found two boats, in which King sent the prisoners and about half his party with the other officers; he himself remaining with 30 men whom he would not abandon.

Orders had been given, that all the troops in the neighborhood should march at reveille, to the place of embarkation. A part of the detachment sent in the night having returned and excited apprehensions for the residue about 250 men, under the command of Col. Winder, suddenly put off in boats for the opposite shore; a part of this force had landed when a force deemed superior, with one piece of artillery, was discovered; a retreat was ordered; and Col. Winder's detachment suffered a loss of six killed and 19 wounded, besides some officers.

The general embarkation commenced as the troops arrived; but this being a first embarkation, the whole of the

scows were occupied by about one third of the artillery, while about 800 regular infantry, about 200 12-months' volunteers, under Col. Swift, and about 200 of the militia who had volunteered their services for a few days, occupied all the boats that were ready. The troops then embarked moved up the stream to Black Rock without loss; they were ordered to disembark and dine.

I had received from my commanding general an instruction in the following words: "In all important movements you will, I presume, consider it advisable to consult some of your principal officers." I deemed this equivalent to an order; and the movement important. I called for the field officers of the regulars, and 12-months' volunteers embarked; Col. Porter was not found at the moment. These questions were put:

"Is it expedient *now* to cross over?"

"Is the force we have sufficient to conquer the opposite coast?"

The first question was decided in the negative by Col. Parker, Col. Schuyler, Col. Winder, Lieut.-Col. Boerstler, Lieut.-Col. Coles, and Maj. Campbell. Col. Swift, of volunteers, *alone* gave an opinion for *then* crossing over.

The second question was not decided. Col. Parker, Col. Schuyler, Lieut.-Col. Coles and Maj. Campbell, were decidedly of opinion that the force was insufficient. Col. Winder, Col. Swift, Lieut.-Col. Boerstler, and Captain Gibson, deemed the force sufficient.

I determined to postpone crossing over until more complete preparation would enable me to embark the whole force at once, the counsel prescribed by my orders. The next day was spent in such preparation, and the troops were ordered to be again at the place of embarkation at 8 o'clock on the morning of the 30th November. On their arrival, they were sent into the adjacent woods, there to build fires, and remain until 3 o'clock in the morning of the 1st of December; when it was intended to put off two hours before daylight, so as to avoid the fire of the enemy's cannon in passing the position which it was believed they occupied below, to land above Chippeway, assault that

place, and, if successful, march through Queenston for Fort George. For this expedition the contractor was called on to furnish rations for 2500 men for four days, when it was found he could furnish the pork but not the flour; the deputy quarter-master called for 60 barrels and got but 35.

The embarkation commenced but was delayed by circumstances so as not to be completed until after daylight, when it was found the regular infantry, 688 men, the artillery, 177 men, Swift's volunteers estimated at 23, six companies of Federal volunteers, under Captains Collins, Phillips, Allison, Moore, Mather, and Marshall, amounting to 276 men, commanded by Lieut.-Col. McClure, 100 men of Col. Dobbins' militia, and a few men in a boat with Gen. P. B. Porter, had embarked—the whole on board amounting, exclusive of officers, to 1466 men, or thereabouts; and it was now two hours later than had been contemplated.

There were some groups of men not yet embarked; they were applied to, requested, and ordered by the brigade-major to get into the boats; they did not. The number of these the brigade-major estimated at about 150. It was probably greater.

It then became a question, whether it was expedient to invade Canada in open daylight, with 1500 men, at a point where no reinforcements could be expected for some days. I saw that the number of regular troops was declining rapidly, I knew that on them chiefly I was to depend.

I called together the officers commanding corps of the regular army. Col. Parker being sick, those present were, Col. Porter of the artillery, Col. Schuyler, Col. Winder, and Lieut.-Col. Coles.

I put to them this question: "Shall we proceed?" They unanimously decided that we ought not.

I foresaw that the volunteers, who had come out for a few days, would disperse—several of them had on the evening of the 28th, broke their muskets. I foresaw that the number of the regular troops would decrease, measles and other diseases, being among them; and they were now in tents, in the month of December. I informed the officers

that the attempt to invade Canada would not be made, until the army was reinforced; directed them to withdraw their troops, and cover them with huts immediately.

You say that on Saturday every obstruction was removed, and that a landing might have been effected "without the loss of a single man." This proves you unacquainted with the occurrences of the day. Col. Winder, in retiring from the enemy's shore in the morning, lost a tenth part of his force, in killed and wounded. The enemy showed no more than 5 or 600 men, as estimated by Col. Parker, and one piece of artillery, supposed a 9-pounder. That force, we no doubt might have overcome, but not without loss; and that, from the great advantage the enemy would have had, might have been considerable.

To recapitulate. My orders were to pass into Canada with 3000 men *at once*. On the first day of embarkation not more than 1400 men were embarked, of whom 400, that is, half of the regular infantry, were exhausted with fatigue and want of rest. On the second embarkation, only 1500 men were embarked, and these were to have put off immediately, and to have descended the river to a point where reinforcements were not to be expected. On both days many of the regular troops were men in bad health, who could not have stood one day's march; who, although they were on the sick report, were turned out by their ardent officers.

The affair at Queenston is a caution against relying on crowds, who go to the banks of Niagara, to look on a battle as on a theatrical exhibition; who, if they are disappointed of the sights, break their muskets; or, if they are without rations for a day, desert.¹

I have made to you this frank disclosure, without admitting your authority to require it, under the impression that you are patriotic and candid men; and that you will not censure me for following the cautious counsels of experience; nor join in the senseless clamor excited against me by an interested man.

1. Gen. Smyth added a foot-note: "Six hundred of Gen. Tannehill's brigade deserted in 24 hours. A court-martial of this brigade have fined a man 12½ cents for the crime of desertion." This was at once denied.

I have some reason to believe that the cautious counsel given by the superior officers of my command, was good. From deserters, we learn that 2314 rations were issued daily on the frontiers on the British side. Capt. King, prisoner at Fort George, writes to an officer thus: "Tell our friends to take better care of themselves than it appears I have done."

I am, gentlemen, with great respect, Your most obt

ALEXANDER SMYTH,
Brigadier General.

P. S. It will be observed that the force *ready* could be no otherwise ascertained than by an *actual* embarkation—it being uncertain what portion of the volunteer force would embark.

General Smyth's statement, which was much the same as his official report, stirred General Porter to a prompt retort. He did not hesitate to ascribe the abandonment of the invasion to the cowardice of Smyth; and under date of December 8th wrote to Editor Salisbury of the *Buffalo Gazette* as follows:

BUFFALO, Dec. 8, 1812.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE BUFFALO GAZETTE:

SIR—A friend has just handed me the proof sheet of your paper of this morning, in which is contained what purports to be General Smyth's *official* account of the affairs of the 28th of November and 1st of December.

I beg that you will suspend the publication so long as to assure the public, that in your next, I will give a *true* account of some of the most prominent transactions of those days.

When our lives, our property—when the precious and dear-bought gift of our ancestors—the sacred honor of our country: when everything that we prize as men, or ought to hold dear as patriots, are falling or fading before us, it is time to speak out, whatever be the hazard.

In ascribing, as I shall not hesitate to do, the late disgrace on this frontier, to the cowardice of General Smyth, I beg to be understood as not intending to implicate the characters of the officers whose opinions he has brought forward to bolster up his conduct. *Several* of them I know as brave men as ever wielded a sword; and their advice, if indeed they gave the advice imputed to them, may be accounted for in the obvious consideration, with which every one who *saw* him must have been impressed, that any military attempt under *such* a leader must, in all human probability, prove disgraceful.

Your very humble servant,

PETER B. PORTER.

The *Gazette* added a comment of its own:

The military volunteers, who came forward under the invitation of General Smyth, have all returned home cursing their stars, because they had not "seen" or "felt" a battle. The Pennsylvania Volunteers, consisting of nearly 1700 men, have nearly all gone home for winter quarters. These troops were much dissatisfied. Since their arrival here, they have been exposed in tents. We understand that last week they were ordered to build huts—which they would not comply with. The United States twelve-month volunteers are to be stationed in this village with the exception of Swift's regiment. Several families in this village have relinquished their houses for the comfort of the troops. The articles of provisions and forage are now very dear and scarce.

General Porter's open denunciation of General Smyth was more than even that dubious warrior could stand. He challenged Porter to a duel, an account of which, contributed by witnesses to the *Buffalo Gazette* of December 15th, is as follows:

A meeting took place between Gen. Smyth and Gen. Porter yesterday afternoon on Grand Island, in pursuance of previous arrangements.

They met at Dayton's tavern and crossed the river with their friends and surgeons; both gentlemen behaved with the utmost coolness and unconcern. A shot was exchanged, in an intrepid and firm manner by each gentleman, and without effect. It was then represented by General Smyth's second, that Gen. Porter must now be convinced that the charge of cowardice against Gen. Smyth was unfounded, and should, in honor, be retracted; which after mutual explanations, as to the matters which had given rise to the charge, was accordingly done by him. General Smyth then explained that his remarks on General Porter were the result of irritation, and were intended as provocatives, from having been assailed by General Porter, and that he knew nothing derogatory to Gen. Porter's character as a gentleman and officer.

The hand of reconciliation was then offered and received.

We congratulate the friends of these gentlemen upon the fortunate termination of a difference, arising from too much precipitation, but which has been adjusted in a manner so honorable to both.

WM. H. WINDER.
SAML. ANGUS.

Black Rock, Dec. 13, 1812.

Colonel Winder was Smyth's second, Lieutenant Angus was Porter's. The duel was of course a violation of the Articles of War, but army sentiment at that time favored the appeal to pistols as a proof of courage, and it is clear that the affair was far from secret. One of the attending surgeons was a Dr. Roberts, the other was Dr. Usher Parsons who the next year was surgeon on Perry's flagship *Lawrence*. A duel in which no one is hurt is generally looked on as a solemn comedy, and this one was much laughed at, the country over, though there can be no doubt that popular sentiment was with Porter. The historian Lossing, commenting on it as "disgraceful and humiliating"

adds that according to one account the adversaries returned to Dayton's tavern, "where they supped and spent a convivial evening together."

Official comment on Smyth's Niagara career was in some quarters singularly frank. "Believing that there was some courage and virtue left in the world," wrote Governor Tompkins to Lieut.-Col. George Fleming, "I did not, indeed could not, anticipate such a scene of gasconading and of subsequent imbecility and folly as Genl. Smith [*sic*] has exhibited. To compare the events of the recent campaign with those of the days of the Revolution, is almost enough to convince one, that the race of brave men and able commanders will before many years become extinct."¹

General Smyth's Niagara service ended his military career. There was nowhere any confidence in his military ability, and three months later he was dropped from the service—"disbanded," in the language of the *Army Register*; "in other words, he was deposed without a trial, and excluded from the army." Under date of January 28, 1813, General Smyth sent the following letter to the *National Intelligencer*:

GENTLEMEN: A publication signed "Peter B. Porter" has appeared in sundry public prints, in which the writer professes to give a true account of the prominent transactions of the 28th November and 1st of December, at Black Rock—some facts are truly stated; but wherever the writer gives *numbers*, his statements are (I must assume wilfully) incorrect.

He states on the 27th November, there were collected near Black Rock 4500 *effective* men, under my command; that on the 28th, 2000 or 2600 were embarked; that on the morning of the 1st December, 4000 men, without order or restraint, were discharging their muskets at the Navy Yard.

1. Tompkins to Fleming, Albany, Jan. 2, 1813.

I affirm that on the 27th November, there were collected in the neighborhood of Black Rock, not more than 3500 effective men, non-commissioned officers, and privates, of every corps under my command; not more than 1500 of those were liable to be ordered to cross the Niagara, according to opinions generally received.¹ On the 28th there were 1050 good troops embarked, and also so many irregular volunteers as occupied five boats, estimated at 150. On the morning of the 1st December, the number of men armed with muskets, who were at the Navy Yard, embarked or not embarked, did not exceed 2000 men.

This statement is as correct as I can make it; and is essentially correct.

He says he is informed that Gen. Tannehill's volunteers were ready to cross. I had in my possession a return showing that of 150 officers of that brigade, only 87 were willing to cross—that only 211 men volunteered unconditionally, and 165 on various conditions. A part of Gen. Tannehill's volunteers (I have been told 360) marched to the Navy Yard by a route I had prescribed, and was prepared to embark. The remainder went to Black Rock by the way of Buffalo, I presume to be spectators. If they ever for a moment intended to cross the Niagara, that intention was not communicated to me.

If there were 4500 *effective* men near Black Rock, how will General Porter, in his capacity of *contractor*, answer to his country for having on the 30th, only 35 barrels of flour on hand, *not two pounds of flour to each man?*

The hostility of General Porter to myself, grew out of the *contract*. The troops were starving for provisions²; the officers complained of unfair practices; that damaged flour was forced on them³; that the lean beef was stripped

1. It is an error to rely on any troops except those who are *bound to obey*. Of Capt. Richardson's company of riflemen, and the companies of "Greens" under Capts. Powers, Dillon, Tate and Walker, there were embarked on the 1st December only Capt. Tate, two lieutenants and eight men of the Greens.—*Note by Smyth.*

2. For this fact I refer to Col. Winder.—A. S.

3. To Lieut. Col. Boerstler.—A. S.

of every morsel of fat¹; that vinegar, candles and soap were not furnished; and in the sickly state of the camp, those wants were severely felt.

Under such circumstances, after making ineffectual requisitions, I was compelled to order purchases to be made.

If Congress desire that our armies should conquer; they will consider that "an army is an edifice of which the basis is the belly"; and they will prescribe some effectual mode of honestly and amply supplying our armies with good and wholesome provisions. They will consider that "the principle of victories is discipline"; and subject to courts martial of regular officers all their irregulars who join the army.

Respectfully your obedient servant,

ALEXANDER SMYTH.

In this same month General Smyth wrote the following elaborate statement, which may have appeared in the *Columbian* or other publication of the time. It is here printed from the original manuscript,² with the author's peculiarities of spelling, etc., preserved:

MOUNT HOPE [Va.], Jany, 1813.

Owing to a publication in the *Columbian*, of 12th Inst, I am very reluctantly compeled to appear before the public. Gen'l Porter complains that I did not contradict the statement in the *Northern Wig* [sic]: as I had no agency in that publication and as I reside in the Country and seldom or ever see that paper or the *Evening Post*, I am no more answerable for any mistatements in them, then for the palpable falshoods in the *Columbian*.

In my letter to Gen'l Porter I apprised him that I should at a proper time unmask him to the wourld, and at that time it was my intention to do so, but my aversion to a paper warfare in which others might be Implicated, and the

1. To Col. Parker.—A. S.

2. Courteously placed at the service of the Buffalo Historical Society by the owner, Mr. A. C. Goodyear of Buffalo.

knowledge that Peter B. Porter was a pittiful Scoundrel and Coward, unworthy of my notice, determined me to the Contrary—that my charge against him was not wanton, I leave to the candid and Honorable of all parties to decide from the following facts: let them decide also whether his *empty professions* or *my actions* deserve their approbation. It never was my wish to Injure Gen'l Porter or any other man, if even at this moment I could be satisfied, that I had done so, I should have no hesitation to make him every acknowledgment, but facts must speak for themselves. In giving these I shall avoid as far as possible to devulge the secrets of the Army, or to draw into this discussion the Names of some who might be Implicated.

Soon after the Armistice was concluded, and the Honor of the Nation pledged, through the commander that every act of Hostility should cease, and orders issued to the Troops strictly to conform to it: Gen'l Van Rensselaer received a Communication from Major Gen'l Hall that a British Sergeant and six privates had been taken from Buckhorn Island (where they had Been stationed for a length of time) by a Detach. of Col. Swifts Regiment. I received orders to make enquiry as to this breach of faith and of the General orders and adopt measures to Return the Guard from whence it had been taken. On my way up to Black Rock, I called at Gen'l Halls quarters who proposed to accompany me, while he was gitting ready, I stepped over to Judge Porters where I found his Brother Peter and of him I enquired whether he knew who had Given orders for the attack of the British on the Island, he told me he did not, but that he had been applied to for a boat for that purpose, but had refused unless an order was obtained from Gen'l V. R. I observed that he knew perfectly that such an order would have been Refused and if the application had been made the person would have been arrested—that if he (Porter) had said one discouraging wourd, the Interprise would have been abandoned. I told him that he knew in consequence of my Negotiation with Gen'l Sheaffe in procuring the Navigation of Lake Ontario, Gen'l V. R. had sent an Express to Ogdensburgh to order up the vessels there to Sackets Harbour to join Lieut. Woolsey with a view to enable that excellent officer to git Command of that lake, and that Col. Fenwick with Cannon and Military Stores

was on his way from Oswego, to Niagara and that all this property was in jeopardy by this dishonourable act; that if the armistice was broke on our part, the British had a right to retaliate, and I had no doubt would do so to our costs. I then returned to Gen'l Hills and we road up together to Black Rock to which place the guard had been sent instead of Lewiston which was much nearer. On our way we found with Indignation that all or most of the Smaller guards had been Engaged in this *Gallant & Honorable* interprise. We reached Col. Swifts quarters where we dined, after dinner was over I told Col. Swift that I would Inspect his Regiment that afternoon or the next morning as he pleased, the morning was agreed on, I then asked him By whose orders the attack had been made on the British, he replied that he did not know by whose order, but that it had been made by Lieut. Hewett of his Regiment and his guard. I told him that the British prisoners should Immediately be returned to the Island they were taken from, he observed that he believed they did not wish to go back and if they were sent back it would dissatisfy his men and he believed the prisoners would return. In this Dr. Wilson the friend of Porter joined. I told him if they did return he should send them under guard to Lewiston. I shewed the necessity of this measure by stating to them what I had to Porter. Col. Swift and his Surgeon Wilson then walked out of the Room and soon after returned and Reported to me that the Guard, excepting the Sergeant would not return alive—I observed to them with some warmth, that dead or alive they should return and ordered Col. Swift in the name of Gen'l Van Rensselaer to return them to the same spot that they were taken from, and to send down Lieut. Hewett the next day to Lewiston under arrest for trial—this had the desired effect. I then walked in the next Room and found the prisoners in *high glee* dinning at the same table we had rose from, but with all their kind treatment they were sent back without *blood shed*—to this affair Porter and his friends to say the least were accessory on which thousands of property was depending, the safety of the army for the want of military stores, there not being in camp five rounds of cartridges pr man—this conversation passed in the presence of Gen'l Hall, and the Honor of the country, the last to a mind like his is the least consideration—some were even heard to say that

they wished the army would be sacrificed for that would rouse the feelings of the country. if his opinion had rec'd that attention which those who do not know him would suppose it ought, this army would have been sacrificed to their wish, for this finished Scoundrel Peter *Billigerent* Porter recommended to Gen'l V. R. to cross over at Black Rock and open a Communication with Gen'l Hull as he as he states, "through a fine country and good Roads of about 240 miles" an enemies country with Broke and Procter in our frount and Major Gen'l Sheaffe in our rear—to give a finishing stroke to all, that evening we had the mortifying scene to witness of the disimbarkation of Gen'l Hulls army at Fort Erie and Brouk [*sic*] dissatisfied with the armistice because Gen'l Sheaffe, owing to the decided Stand I took with him, after three days negotiation surrendered to us the use of the waters of the Ontario, which if the war continues must prove their ruin—of which this *Gallant Soldier & Great man* was fully aware.

On my return to Lewiston the next day I fell in with some Gentlemen from Chautagua County, who shewed me an order from Governor Tompkins to Gen'l Porter to deliver them five Hundred stand of arms, from the arsinel at "*Canandarqua or else where.*" they expressed a wish to receive them at Black Rock as it would save one Hundred miles of transportation. I told them it was Impossible to spare the arms from this place that they were required for the Troops then on their March. At the Falls of Niagara they saw Gen'l Porter, they were in conversation with him opposite Gen'l Hall's quarters. I knew he was a Scoundrel and therefore walked up to them to hear what passed, his back was towards me, I got along side of him before he saw me, he observed to those Gentlemen he was willing to accommodate them, if they got an order from Gen'l V. R. I observed with some warmth to Porter that he knew the Critical situation in which we were placed, the order was to him and not to Gen'l V. R., that it was unnecessary to send those gentlemen down to Gen'l V. R. for he knew no such order would be obtained, that it was optional with him to deliver them at "*Canandarqua or else where*" that I would cut the matter short with him, and again observed, that he knew the precarious situation on the Niagara, that Troops were on their march to join us, who would require

those arms, if you think the nature of the service will admit of it, Deliver them on the orders you have received and on your own Responsibility—he replied well, it is left to me and I will act as I please and walked off.

Soon after this I mounted my horse and in company with those Gentlemen and a Col. Brooks a member of Congress elected last Spring with Porter and a friend of his was in company for Lewiston, on the road the Subject of the arms was renewed by one of the Gentlemen, feelings which were already sufficient roused by the conduct of Porter now broke perhaps the bounds of prudence. I stated that Porter had on all occasions thrown the responsibility on Gen'l V. R. that he attempted to imbarass his command, that he had voted for the war, and now did not furnish the necessary supplies to bring it to an honorable conclusion, that If he could make his fortune by it, he did [not] care how long it lasted, that thousands of poor people on the fronteers had deserted their farms and their little all in consiquence of it—and that when he should be the first man the [to] shew his zeal in the cause, he neglected his duty as Quarter Master Gen'l, that he was seldom in Camp and did not even furnish Straw for the poor Soldiery to lay on, or forage for a few public horses. In short I stated that he was a *damned Scoundrel*— Col. Brooks defended his friend Porter, and I observed neither of you care any thing about the public good, which you pretend to have at heart, for you too voted for \$4 a day when a less sum was proposed, (an impression which at the moment I took from the Albany *Crisis* which was incorrect) he with much warmth denied it, and I called him a lyer, he then fell back and the conversation dropt—we reached early that afternoon our Camp, where I saw Col. Brooks several times that evening and the next morning he was even In Gen'l Van R[ensselaer's] tent without asking for any explanation, finding on reflection that I had injured the man and seeing him on parade about eleven o'clock that morning, I called to one of the Gentlemen who heard our conversation on the road and who then happened to be at hand and went up to Col. Brooks and told him, that in the warm conversation I had with him the day before, I had treated him very rudely, that on reflection I found I had injured him, that I regretted it, and therefore made that voluntary acknowledgement—he replied that he

readily accepted my apology, that he intended to call on me for an explanation about the charge against him of having voted for four Dollars per day. I observed in answer that "*If you had asked me in a decent manner I should as readily have given it as I do now*" here the matter dropted and Col. Brooks was in my tent afterwards and appeared well satisfied—but this man very dishonorably, I presume, told Porter, what I am told he mentioned in Ontario, that I had treated him ill, but that he had compeled me to make a *very humble* apology—on this apology poor *Peter Belligerents* challange must have been predicated, he thought this would be a *glorious* time to establish himself as a brave man, by gitting me to make *another humble* apology to him also, it would be a very good story for him to tell at Washington this winter (for next winter he could not go) and it would retreave his character at Canandarga on occasion of this kind he had there, if I have been rightly informed— But he counted without his host—equally ready to repair an injury as to resent an insult. I had no hesitation to make an apology in the case of Brooks. I had injured the man, it was therefore due to myself and to him to repair it. But Porters base conduct give rise to my declaration, it was provoked by the occasion, it arose from a sinse of public duty, I had truth and justice on my side, and with these *no earthly* consideration would induce me to recall what I had said—he was too Indolent and too fond of whiskey to attend to his duty— the horses of half a company of Light Artillery and of one Troop of Light Dragoons were not half of the time provided with forage, for the truth of which I appeal to Captain Camp, Lieut. Branch & Col. Fenwick, (if they will not speak out their letters will) and to every officer and soldier in our camp as to the want of straw. Let it not be said by Porter that those articles could not be procured, or that he was in want of funds, for both would be false—the Country at that time could furnish sufficient, and as to funds, Governor Tompkins had paid all his drafts on him and transmitted to Porter on [*blank*] ten thousand Dollars for that Department by Major Noon Deputy Q'r M's Gen'l neither of those Gentlemen will deny this fact— these were some of the reasons which endured my declaration, we witnessed the distress about us, the responsibility rested with Gen'l V. R. Porter incurred none,

he took his ease and kept aloff, notwithstanding frequent Gen'l orders to the contrary.

A few days after the conversation I had with Col. Brooks, Gen'l Porter and his friend Dr. Wilson came down to Lewiston from Black Rock, when Dr. Wilson called on me with a note from Porter, enquiring whether I had made use of the Language imputed to me, that he (Porter) was a damned Rascal. I told Dr. Wilson I had— after a short pause, he asked me where he could find me in half an hour, I told him In my tent, he soon returned and requested that I should send a friend to meet him at seven that evening at Mr. Bartons to make the Necessary arrangements, I told him that Mr. L. would attend him at that hour. Dr. Wilson then began to talk about my being in a Passion & an apology. I told him I had no apology to make— that evening the necessary arrangements were made and a solemn pledge of secrecy passed, but in violation of that pledge Gen'l Porter immediately communicated the affair to his partner Mr. Barton, who it appears informed Gen'l V. R. and begged that he would put a stop to it and Several times in the course of the week importuned him on the subject. Gen'l V. R. asked Mr. Barton where he got his information from, he replied from Gen'l Porter himself, he said that I had been in passion and Porters friends Had urged him to this measure or they would Desert him— the Monday following Mr. L. went to meet Dr. Wilson at the falls of Niagara when he returned he reported that the Doctor had not meet him agreeable to appointments. I was then in the act of writing the following letter to Gen'l Porter, when Gen'l V. R. entered my tent, as caution then was no longer necessary he discovered what the subject was, he Laughed very hartily and told us he knew it from the begining he had kept a watchful eye on both of us and was determined to arrest us if we had left the camp together, and then mentioned what I have stated above— I felt very Indignant and declared That I should horsewhip the Scoundrel the first time I saw him— fearful that this might give some uneasiness in the Camp he ordered me to drop the business here and wrote also to Porter, and this letter which was written and sent after Mr. L. returned, to meet Dr. Wilson, this barefaced Scoundrel and a few of his friends (for he has but few) have insinuated was procured by me, but

Gen'l V. R. never can say that he received the information from me or any of my friends and if he was put under oath he would be compeled to say so.¹

It was an attempt, hopeless but not final, to excuse his blunders and bolster up his ruined reputation. Almost a year later—December 28, 1813—Alexander Smyth presented the following memorial to the House of Representatives, which promptly referred it to the Secretary of War:

To the Honorable the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled:

The petition of Alexander Smyth, a citizen of Virginia, respectfully presents:

That having in 1807 written to an honorable member of the House of Representatives, that in case of war with Great Britain he was desirous to enter into the regular service, he received in 1808 an appointment as colonel of a regiment of riflemen. That although war had not commenced, yet, the event being probable, he abandoned his profession, which was then lucrative, left his family, vacated his seat in the Senate of Virginia as the representative of thirteen counties, and joined the army of the United States. That your petitioner had the good fortune to give the utmost satisfaction to his superiors, Gen. Wilkinson, Gen. Hampton, Gen. Dearborn, and the late Secretary at War, while acting under their immediate orders; was promoted to the rank of brigadier and inspector-general in July, 1812; given the command of a brigade in September, and one of the armies of the United States in October in the same year.

That at the expiration of five weeks, during which period he made every exertion in his power to serve the nation, he found it necessary to put his troops into winter quarters. Having determined on that measure, as your petitioner had been absent from his home the last eight winters, much the

1. The MS. ends as above, without signature.

greater part of the last five years, and the whole of the last 14 months, and had been refused leave to visit his family in the month of July preceding, and calculating that it was probable the campaign of 1813 might terminate his existence, he, without resigning his command, asked for leave of absence, which was granted until the first of March, 1813, at which time your petitioner was ordered to report himself to the Secretary at War.

That your petitioner left his troops in cantonments, under an officer of 36 years' experience, and in February, 1813, reported himself by letter to the Secretary of War and solicited orders; and as the failure of your petitioner to take Fort George, York and Kingston, and to winter in Canada, as he was instructed, had created some clamor, your petitioner proposed that an inquiry into his conduct should take place, which the hon. Secretary, through the medium of the adjutant-general, was pleased to promise; since which time your petitioner has not had the honor to hear from the War-office.

Your petitioner would further represent, that he had heard that some members of your honorable body are of opinion, that by an act of the last session, regulating the staff of the army of the U. States, your petitioner has become a private citizen; and with this opinion, his own might perhaps accord, were it not impossible to believe that the Congress of the United States, at their last session, could have intentionally committed an act of injustice.

Your petitioner affirms that he has not done or omitted any thing to the injury of the nation; that his chief if not his only error has consisted in expressing too freely his indignation against those who had done injuries, or omitted to perform duties, to the nation. The motive which led astray, he conceives, might procure for this error forgiveness. That this affirmation is true, he believes he can satisfy a committee or committees of your honorable body, on short notice.

Your petitioner has essayed to engage again in the pursuits of civil life; but he finds that, while the din of war continues, it is impossible for him to give the necessary

attention to any peaceful pursuit. He desires to serve, to die, if heaven wills it, in the defence of his country; a country that has protected his infancy, given him a family and at times distinguished him with considerable honors; from whose government no act of wrong, personal to himself, will force his esteem, while it maintains, with steady perseverance, that country's rights.

Your petitioner confidently trusts, that on deciding on his prayer you will be mindful of the rule of justice: "To others do, the law is not severe, what to thyself thou wishest to be done"; and of the rule of policy: "The social body is oppressed, when one of its members is oppressed."

The prayer of your petitioner is, that you will revise the act organizing the staff of the army of the United States and by a declaratory act preserve the rank of your petitioner, as brigadier-general in the line, abolishing only his authority as inspector-general. And your petitioner, &c.

ALEXANDER SMYTH.

John Lovett, writing to Stephen Van Rensselaer from Washington, on this 28th of December, 1813, said: "Alas, poor General Smyth! This day we had him before us, at full length, on petition drawn by himself. He states that he *was* a great lawyer, turned to a great soldier, served his country most faithfully, and after all, was disgraced—denied enquiry, etc., and prays to be restored to his rank as brigadier in the line. The House almost hissed while the vagabond's petition was read, then referred it to the Secretary of War, of whom it chiefly complains!"

Although the episode of his military service at Buffalo and on the Niagara presents General Smyth in so unfavorable a light, it is plain that he still retained many friends, especially in the State where he resided; nor did his public career end with his failure to invade Canada.

Some writers who refer to him as a Virginian, overlook the fact that he was an Irishman, born in the isle of Rathlin,

in 1765. He was ten years old when he came to America with his father, the Rev. Adam Smyth, who became rector of Botetourt parish, Botetourt Co., Virginia. His youth was spent in Botetourt Co., where he studied law and was admitted to the bar, beginning practice in Abingdon, Va., but removing to Wythe Co. in 1792. For a number of years he was a member of the Virginia House of Representatives. His military career appears to have begun prior to 1808, for on July 8th of that year President Jefferson appointed him colonel of the "United States rifle regiment," which he commanded in the Southwest until 1811, when he was ordered to Washington "to prepare a system of discipline for the army." It will be noted that he was neither inexperienced nor without reputation when the war of 1812 broke out. On July 6, 1812—only 18 days after war was declared—he was appointed inspector-general, and, with the rank of brigadier-general, ordered to the Niagara frontier. What followed is sufficiently set forth by the preceding documents.

Failing in his efforts to be reinstated in the army, General Smyth resumed his long-interrupted practice of law. He was appointed a member of the Virginia Board of Public Works; served again in the Virginia House of Representatives; and in 1817 was elected a Member of Congress, as a Democrat, serving from Dec. 1, 1817, till March 3, 1825, and again from Dec. 3, 1827, till April 17, 1830. On the 26th day of April in that year he died, at Washington. Smyth Co., Virginia, was named for him.

General Alexander Smyth was the author of a work entitled "Regulations for the Infantry," published at Philadelphia in 1812; and—an excursion into a far-distant field—"An Explanation of the Apocalypse, or Revelation of St. John," published at Washington in 1825. Whatever his worth or abilities in other fields, history has thus far granted him little recognition save for his inglorious service on the shores of the Niagara.

“LE POUR ET LE CONTRE”

**ONE OF THE RAREST OF BOOKS
RELATING TO WESTERN
NEW YORK**

NOTE BY THE EDITOR.

The title of the work printed in the following pages may be rendered as follows:

The PROS AND CONS, or advice for those who intend to go to the United States of America. Followed by a description of Kentucky and Genesee, two of the most important new settlements of this part of the new world. With a typometric map. By LOUIS BRIDEL, pastor of the French Church at Basle. [*Motto:*] *Go to the ant, thou sluggard, and consider her work.* Paris: Levrault, Schoell & Co., Quay Malaquay. Printed at Basle by William Haas, Year XII [*calendar of the Revolution*], 1803.

The map, here reproduced in slightly reduced facsimile, is a great curiosity, especially to printers. It was not engraved, but "set" or composed with movable type, printer's rule and furniture. It is a close copy of the original Holland Land Co.'s map of 1800. This very rare book is of decided interest in its bearing on the early operations of the Holland Land Company. The only copy seen by the present editor is owned by Mr. H. F. DePuy of New York City, who with great kindness not only placed it at the service of the Buffalo Historical Society, but wrote out the translation.

The map is here given after the narrative. The title-page in facsimile follows.

F. H. S.

LE
POUR ET LE CONTRE
OU
AVIS

à ceux qui se proposent de passer dans les
ÉTATS - UNIS D'AMÉRIQUE.

SUIVI
d'une description du Kentucky et du Genesey, deux
des nouveaux établissemens les plus considérables
de cette partie du nouveau monde.

Avec une carte typométrique.

PAR
LOUIS BRIDEL,
Pasteur de l'église française à Basle.

.....
Va paresseux à la fourmi & considère son ouvrage
.....

À P A R I S
chez LEVRAULT, SCHOELL & COMP.
quay Malaquay.
Imprimé à Basle chez GUILLAUME HAAS,
an XII. 1803.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

The copy from which this translation was made was purchased in 1913 from one of the Amsterdam dealers in rare books. The title is given in Sabin's "Dictionary of Books relating to America," but he does not state the location of any copy. The only copy of which I can find any sale-record is in the catalogue of S. L. M. Barlow. That was sold in 1889 for \$4.50. The location is not now known. The New York Historical Society has a copy. There is no copy in the New York Public Library, nor did the New York State Library possess a copy before the fire.

I have not attempted to trace the source of the author's information. If he had ever been in America he would most probably have said so somewhere in the book. The book shows that he has studied the subject with some care and that he had correspondents in America in whom he placed confidence. The map is a curiosity as it is not engraved but "composed" with movable type.

In the few places where I have thought it desirable to add explanatory notes they have been included in brackets.

H. F. DEPUY.

PREFACE.

After twenty years of travel I have returned to my native land. My broken health requires rest. I have found it in Lausanne. But I do not believe that it agrees with one who has spent his life in the study of men of books and of nature to pass his time in total idleness. I have therefore sought some subject that would interest my countrymen and I believe I have found it. Many families have gone to America, and others propose to follow; all lack definite directions. I come today to their assistance; with this idea I have gathered all the information that I was able to find on this subject. I have formulated it in this brochure. May my countrymen receive it with the same good will that I have in addressing them.

The United States of America are not yet entirely cultivated. Centuries will probably roll away before they will be. The greater part, and perhaps the most fertile part of their immense territory is yet waste, or covered with forest. There are no large towns in the interior. They are found on the banks of the bays or mouths of the rivers. Such a location makes them the natural entrepot of the products of the country. Commerce and manufactures have brought them quickly to a state of opulence equalled only by the most flourishing cities of Europe.

The territory of the five principal states that compose the federation, viz., New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Carolina and Georgia, can be divided into two regions. The first, which is at the same time nearest to the cities and the coast, is the best cultivated. The farms there are so close together that it seems like a continuous village. The land there produces everything necessary for man. I except only wine of which the culture is only just begun. It is abundantly replaced by cider, beer, and spirituous liquors. They are to be had at so moderate a price as to be in reach of all. The roads, fairly maintained, facilitate intercourse. The rivers are everywhere navigable, and travellers agree in comparing this country with the richest and most populous of the old world.

The next region as one goes to the interior is less cultivated. The forests are cut only at intervals and still cover a large extent. The villages are small and far apart. Each place that contains a few houses, a saw mill and a flour mill, is considered important. The farms are large, but so separated that the farmer often finds himself two or three leagues from his nearest neighbor. The highways are badly kept up and the cross roads are almost impassable during the winter. And even the rivers that may be large enough to afford navigation have their channels obstructed by brushwood and trunks of trees.

As each year passes one sees the forests cleared, the population enlarged and the farms nearer together. Before a century rolls away these infant colonies will find themselves in a flourishing state. At the same time the salubrity of the air, the purity of the water, the abundance of game and fish, the fertility of the soil, and the small amount of labor required, may procure settlers, who will find the life more agreeable than one would expect at first glance.

And now begins a third region—one that affords only wild nature and is uncultivated. Here are immense forests, as old as the world and in the solitude of which the axe of the woodchopper has not been heard. The trees there spring up and grow old until the scythe of time becomes the reaper and covers with their debris the earth from which they sprung. Formerly they were inhabited by tribes of savage hunters. Gradually they have departed and have removed their habitations to the great lakes and the immense river of Mississippi. The deserted forests have become the haunt of wild beasts and the asylum of a multitude of birds. The rivers are filled with fish.

The luxuriance of the vegetation is the most certain indication that the land is fertile and fit for agriculture. In this whole region the trees are of an astonishing size. And why should they not be so? They grow upon a virgin soil, untouched from the beginning of time. The spade has never entered it and the plow has never turned a furrow. Man had not yet claimed the tribute of harvest. This soil is usually six or seven feet deep, and even where it is less, as upon the banks of the streams and the hillsides, it is even there two or three feet deep. Nevertheless there is much thin stony soil and some even sterile in America, as we shall see later.

We have stated that this country was once occupied by savages. As they lived by the chase and knew nothing of agriculture their weak tribes were scattered over a great extent of territory. The Europeans arrived and took possession of the lands near the coast. Soon they advanced into the interior and pushing their settlements from place to place, they forced the natives still farther back. Then the natives attempted to hold by force of arms the lands that had been given them by nature. They were beaten and they no longer had any rights under a title that dated from the beginning of the world. Besides the game on which they depended was driven from the cultivated lands and it was necessary to follow it and plunge into the depths of the forest. For this reason we find an abandoned country between the Indian tribes and the new settlements.

Then at the close of the war that assured the Independence of America the boundaries of each State were settled and the lands were surveyed into lots. Some were sold and others are still for sale. As an indication of the increase of population one can see a whole district covered with farms and villages.

The remainder of these uncultivated lands and by far the greater part was placed by the states at the disposal of Congress and especially dedicated for the payment of the debts contracted by the general federation during the war for Independence.

Beyond this some private individuals have bought from various tribes of Indians, and for a moderate price, large tracts that they have abandoned to go farther into the country. In this way John Livingston¹ has acquired from the Six Nations for a term of 999 years and under an annual rental of 2,000 piastres [Spanish dollars] the rights to a very large tract that lies at the back of the states of New York and Pennsylvania. The same individual bought in January of the year following a large part of the Oneida country, so called from the

1. Probably an error, Robert Livingston being intended.

name of the tribe that occupied it and which ceded it to him also for 999 years at an annual rental of about 1,500 piastres. It is true that the Senate did not wish to recognize these contracts, which had been made without its authority and which appeared to waive its right of territorial sovereignty. It resulted in a suit which lasted a long time and was finally settled by arbitration. We shall have occasion again to mention similar contracts.

Following the calculations of Thomas Hutchins, geographer of Congress, the actual territory of the United States contains a million square miles, viz:

Total.....	640 million acres. ¹
In water.....	51 million miles.

Leaving..... 589 million acres of arable land.

Such is the origin of the land that Congress has sold at various times, some to individuals, some to companies. These parties have resold in smaller plots, sometimes at home and more often in England, Holland, and Germany. These lands continue to be an object of trade, and pass from hand to hand. It results that not only in America, but also in the principal cities of Europe there is an active stock-jobbing known as "*speculations sur les acres*." Those who live by this sort of speculation are called in English "*Land-Jobbers*."

This speculation has become a great evil, partly because it has demoralized many Americans who have given themselves up to it, and partly in that it has hindered the progress of population and agriculture. In reality the large proprietors or original purchasers do not attempt to bring colonists to their lands or to exploit them, but quickly resell at more or less profit. This was one of the old-time complaints against Sir William Johnson and other big "*Land-Jobbers*" of that time. An hundred thousand acres has often passed through the hands of twenty different persons without one of them ever having seen it, or having a correct notion of its size and location. Today as the lands have gradually increased in value the highest that can be obtained for wild land in a country where it is so extensive and separated from Europe by a great ocean is no longer the same. It is now like a staple article on which one puts a price or which he keeps as an anchor to windward which he may eventually use himself.

This trade in American land has brought about two opinions diametrically opposite and equally false. In Europe one class, blinded by these distant speculations, think they see the chance of a sudden fortune; the other class ridicule the whole proposition and regard it as a sort of trickery and those who propose it as rogues. Our design is to dispute both opinions. In giving the facts we shall open the eyes of our readers and give them a chance to form a correct opinion for themselves.

1. Note in original: The acre is 43,560 English feet, equal to 1,135 toises, French measure. There are three miles to one league. Of this quantity 220,000,000 acres of wild lands are at the disposal of Congress. If one observes that England has only 39 millions of acres he can form some idea of the vast quantity of untilled land there is in the United States.

That some unknown persons have gone from country to country with an atlas or big portfolio having land to sell that they did not own or had already sold and the location of which was vague may possibly have happened; but such cases are rare. And in this there is nothing surprising. Is this the only kind of speculation in which rogues have fleeced the unwary? People should never buy without knowing what they buy nor without being assured of the standing of the seller. The abuses that have taken place may be very great but they cannot destroy the truth of the following statements:

1°. Congress has sold land that it legally possessed and had the right to sell.

2°. These lands, so different in location, aspect, and nature of soil, were generally good and fit for agriculture.

3°. They have been surveyed with care, the maps are in existence, and the boundaries of each plot sold are clearly and positively stated.

4°. The original purchasers guarantee to those with whom they deal the actual and legal right to these lands, so that their possessions are founded on a title as incontrovertible as that of any land they could buy in Europe.

5°. Several who hold at second or third hand have had them surveyed anew and in more detail. They have made individual maps. They have divided them into lots of 200 or 300 acres, they have laid out roads, opened communications, commenced clearings, established saw-mills, grist-mills, and other factories, preparing thus before hand for the future settlers.

Finally several companies have brought colonists whom they have established there, after reserving for themselves a legitimate profit, and they have in a few years acquired as much comfort as any industrious and economical farmer can aspire to.

The result of all this is that the trade in land is as substantial as any line that one could follow in Europe, and what is wrong is in reasoning from the particular to the general; that is the only mistake.

As to those who have bought land with the idea of making a quick fortune and who complain daily of being deceived in their expectations, the same thing has happened to them that happens all the while to those who from a vivid imagination or a miscalculated zeal think they see in things something which really has no existence. In order to make a quick fortune in speculations of this sort it is essential that the price of land should increase rapidly, that there should be a ready market and that the security of the capital should be assured, three conditions that never did exist, but even should they exist in certain localities it would be necessary for the speculator to be on the spot in order to profit by them.

One ought then in buying unimproved American land for the modest price of one or two piastres per acre to consider it as a remote speculation and as resources put aside for posterity. It is dead capital that will bear no interest but will gradually increase year by year and that will some day return not only the principal but a usurious interest. For as the population increases the cleared lands will be more sought for and their price will increase. Such is the single speculator, but he is a means to an end, for it is he who exploits land on a large scale by bringing out colonies that gradually clear it up,

or also on a small scale; and this latter method, which has been used from the earliest times to the present day, is very peculiar.

One often sees families of poor farmers leaving the first region of which we have spoken and crossing the second to plunge into the wilds of the third to form there their settlements. These new colonists from their resources, their tastes, their habits, and their character form three very distinct kinds of settlers. It is only in passing successively through their hands that wild lands become productive farms. We will give a sketch of each of these three kinds of planters. It is largely drawn from a brochure written by an inhabitant of the country and called "Letter to My Friends in England."¹

I.

The planter of the first class is usually a poor man without credit and burdened by a large family. Some come from Europe and some from Canada and the northern states. If he is able to procure a wagon to carry his miserable baggage, a pair of oxen or horses to draw it and a little provision for his sustenance, he sets out. He usually prefers the month of April for a start. When he arrives at his destination he chooses a farm. The fertility of the soil, the vicinity of a river and a southern exposure are the principal things that determine his choice. But this land is not his as one might suppose by priority of occupancy. Nothing of that kind exists in the United States. He ought to buy it or take a lease. A lease gives a right for seven or nine years on condition of clearing each year a certain quantity of land, building a cabin and planting an orchard. But whatever his requirements may be he obtains them so easily that he has little need of money.

His first care is to build a cabin of the branches of trees and leaves. The bare ground serves for a floor, and a hole in the roof allows for the passage of smoke and for ventilation; light is admitted through a half-opened door; sometimes he may make a small window in which the glass is replaced with white paper. Trunks of trees are his first chairs, and dry leaves form his bed. The whole family sleep under the simple covering that has been brought with them. To this cabin he joins a rudely built shed for housing his animals.

These preliminaries finished he begins to make a clearing about his cabin. To accomplish this he does not dig up the trees by the roots, as that would take too long; he cuts the trunks two or three feet above the ground and having dug up the spaces between the stumps he plants some maize; which is of the kind called by us Indian or Turkish corn.

This maize is indigenous to America, from which it has been taken to all parts of the old world. It is produced readily in the climates that are not beyond 45° of latitude and grows best between 30° and 40°. It is found in America with 400 or 500 kernels on each ear, arranged in eight or ten and sometimes twelve compact rows. The kernels are of various colors, white, brown, red, yellow, and purple. This plant grows luxuriantly in the new ground and it is even best

1. This brochure has not been identified.—Ed.

to precede its culture with wheat. It will not ear out but will all run to stalk if planted in too rich soil. Maize is planted from March to June, but the best results are from that planted in the middle of April.

During the summer the new settler provides for his family with flour he has brought with him. The chase furnishes him game and the rivers all kinds of fish. The forests produce naturally quantities of berries and edible fruits; his animals wandering at random find in the grass of the woods, which is very thick, and in the buds of certain shrubs sufficient food. In a word the little colony finds in the wealth of nature sufficient for its first needs.

About the month of September they begin to pick the green corn and to eat it as green peas or roasted over hot coals. They can also find green grapes, which they cook like artichokes. This is customary in Piedmont and part of Lombardy.

The harvest of maize is uncertain because of the abundant rain in the month of September which rots a part of it, whilst another part is devoured by the legion of wild birds that cover the fields where it is planted. What remains is harvested about the first of October. In spite of the disadvantages that I have mentioned, if tolerably cultivated an acre will produce 50 to 60 bushels, and often more. They plant also in the new settlements many potatoes.¹ Everyone knows that this valuable plant that perhaps saved us from the horrors of famine during the Revolution is indigenous to America from whence it has been taken to Europe. Virginia grows a peculiar species, sweeter and more delicate than the common variety. But it is not found in the northern states nor the northern species in Virginia.

Thus the potatoes, maize and game form the principal and almost the only food of the settler. If he is in the neighborhood of a mill he has his maize ground in order to make flour for bread. If the mill is too far away he has recourse to the method of the Indians, which consists in slightly parching the corn, then pounding it in a mortar and sifting it. The flour so produced is coarser but it is nevertheless very good to eat. Beside this it is used as food for his cattle and to fatten his poultry. They make from it a spirituous liquor as good as brandy. The pith of the stalks whilst green furnishes a syrup which takes the place of sugar for some purposes. He does not even lose the dried stalks, but strips them into fibres of which he makes baskets.

There is one other plant that grows wild in Canada and the neighboring states. It is a species of oats known in the country as *wild rice*; it is found on the shores of the lakes and in the marshes that have a muddy bottom covered with two feet of water. It is the one resource of the Indians during the winter and to the new settler a food that enables him to await the harvest when his supply of wheat has failed. The Indians gather it in the following manner. Some time before it ripens they go with their canoes into the marshes where it grows. They tie the stalks in sheaves below the ear and

1. Literally, "*patates ou pommes de terre*." The Canadian French people are often laughed at now-a-days for calling potatoes "*patates*," yet here is the word given the preference by an educated gentleman. It seems to confirm the statement that good Canadian French is good old French.—*Tr.*

leave it in that state three or four weeks until it is perfectly matured. At the expiration of this time, which is ordinarily the end of September, they return with their canoes and passing the sheaves beat them as we would in gathering nuts. They collect the grain in baskets, after which it is dried with smoke; after that it is husked to use for gruel or bread. The extract from it also furnishes a very good brandy.

This grain is improperly called wild rice. Rice is not indigenous to North America. It was first brought from Madagascar in 1688 by Sir Nathaniel Johnson and in the year 1696 was successfully cultivated in Carolina and Georgia. It forms today the principal revenue of those two states. It has been attempted to cultivate it in the north without success. It does not even grow as far north as Virginia.

With that the farmer lacks many things. It is necessary for him to have tools, powder and lead, salt, linen, clothing, tobacco, etc. He can easily procure these things in exchange for the furs of the animals he has killed in hunting. They are easily sold and are actively traded in, in all the settlements in America. He also makes exchanges with the Indians and neighboring farmers. The amount of money that is seen among the people there is very small.

Such is the picture of the physical condition of a planter of the first class and the general notion of his situation. We will pass now to his moral character. The second picture will show more unfavorable traits. I have observed that in leaving the surroundings of civilization to enter a state of nature he has acquired all the vices of the latter and in no way shows himself superior to the savages. He is, like them, without ambition and without any moral sensibility. Like them, he lives in the most complete idleness. He procures only what is necessary, and he cares for nothing else. He eats, smokes, gets drunk and sleeps. He passes whole weeks in that morbid state. Only the lack of provisions is able to rouse him from his sloth. He loves the wandering life and prefers to hunt and fish rather than to cultivate his fields. His children are reared haphazard and without any religious training. Plants abandoned in the forest, sterile flowers of the desert, the sweet rose of the Gospel will not fall on you! You will have no moral feeling for your conduct in life. With the example of your fathers you have become a sluggard, a knave, a drunkard, and without regard for the truth when you find it to your advantage or can lie with impunity.

Only when his cabin becomes dilapidated will he take the trouble to repair it. Its interior is untidy to the point of disgust. It breeds vermin and the filthy fevers to which he is exposed. His cattle suffer and often die in the winter from the lack of fodder. Given only to raising corn because that is easy, he neglects wheat, hemp, flax and other products of which the land is capable. But such are the charms of independence that it is his only reward and renders him content with a life that will appear to many of my readers less an existence than a long punishment.

However animal-like such a life may be, I ought to say that it is more tolerable than that of many individuals in Europe. In the course of my long travels I have more often been in the cottages of the poor than in the palaces of the rich, because there I could get a

better view of human nature than I could find elsewhere. Now without mentioning Norway or Lapland, I have found that many of the peasants of Sweden, Finland, Russia, Poland, and Jutland had a life more unhappy than these planters. Their miserable habitations would be damp and unsuitable, their clothing a mass of rags, their food coarse and indigestible. The most arduous labor scarcely produced their subsistence, the heat consumed them in summer and the cold and ice in winter, and with all they had the *corvées*¹ to perform and taxes to pay. How many times have I not seen in Westphalia living in a mud hut in clouds of smoke, a man, a woman, seven or eight children, a cow, a pig and some chickens; the Pyrenees, the Apennines, the mountains of Sicily are full of similar unfortunates. And without going so far, what a pitiful spectacle is offered by the interior of the cottages of Valais. In our Jura, even at the gates of our city, some are exiled by extreme poverty; but nothing is more true than the proverb: "One half of the world does not know how the other half lives."

All these people would be less miserable in America, especially if they would take with them some virtue and the consolations of Christianity. For if the settler of the first class is not very agreeable it is his own fault. He can blame neither men nor nature. It is his idleness and drunkenness that prevent his prosperity. That cannot be said of the unfortunates of whom I have spoken.

What happens when other people settle in the neighborhood of our colonist? It would seem that he should be benefited by their arrival and glad to have some society of his kind, that would afford some change from the monotony of his lonely life. Not at all. As soon as the population begins to increase about him he becomes restless and discontented. It is because a return to the social state means less independence and more work. His cattle can no longer run at large to find sustenance without being cared for. He will have to fence his farm to prevent them from running over his neighbor's land. The game and fish will be less abundant because the rivers will be fished out and the animals will leave the cultivated country. In order to supply this lack of game he will be obliged to raise more domestic animals and provide food for them. All this is contrary to his nature and his idea of what constitutes happiness. But what he objects to most of all is to readjust himself to the requirements of society. Sooner than do that he abandons his clearing—usually the third year—and goes further on to make a new one. There he undergoes anew the large circle of hardships and privations that accompanied his first emigration. You can find settlers that have in that way made four or five different removals and an equal number of clearings. It has been observed, too, that nothing acts on them more quickly than the starting of a church or a school in their neighborhood. The thing appears astonishing but the surprise is lessened when one considers that the precepts of the gospel are opposed to the selfish and licentious life of such people.

Besides, the principal incentive which in the early times impelled people to leave a life of nature and form themselves into society

1. Under the feudal system *corvée* was a sort of statute labor or public work that peasants were required to perform.—*Tr.*

does not exist in this case. I mean the desire to defend life and property against beasts of prey and the attack of their own kind. For

1°. The beasts of prey properly so called are in this country few and not very dangerous. They are to the settler less an object of fear than a prize easily attacked and overcome.

2°. His poverty preserves him from attack by men of his own race. As to the savages they are too far away, too weak, and above all, too thoroughly restrained by the vigorous government of the United States to make war against the settlers. Happily the policy of the United States is to establish between the Indians and them good commercial relations and good fellowship.

Here let me quote from one of my letters from America :

"OSWAIGA CREEK,¹ 27th September, 1798.

"I told you some years ago about John, the Canadian, and his pretty wife, Fannie. I allowed them to occupy and clear some land on the Tonawanda river. When I went there I found them fifty miles farther on, beginning a new settlement. The new settlers who had located in the neighborhood of John had disgusted him with his property. Fanny is still pretty though a little browned by work in the fields. His children are very good and trying to assist their father with his work. Yet such is his fickleness and his love for absolute independence that I expect to find him in a few years fifty or sixty miles further in the interior."

If the settler possesses land that he has cleared he resells it at a profit before leaving it. It cost him two ecus [equal to about one dollar] per acre, but when the trees have been cut and the land broken up each acre is worth at least five dollars. If on the contrary he held it on a lease, the proprietor allows him to leave, often without asking any return of the money he has advanced; because the simple clearing of a part of the farm gives to the remainder an added value, and he can find new settlers to whom he can resell it.

These form the second class of planters :

II.

A planter of the second class is generally a man that has some property. It may be that he has just arrived from Europe or that he was originally from one of the United States. He takes with him some money; the amount is more or less according to his circum-

1. There is a creek of which the modern name is Oswayo which flows into the Allegheny river near the New York-Pennsylvania boundary above Olean. This may be the stream called Oswaiga. On a map in the pamphlet, "Observations on the proposed State Road," New York, 1800, there is a town called Keatings. It is at the junction of a small creek (not named) with the Allegheny river. There is also on this map the note: "Good navigation from Keatings to Pittsburg." This is the only settlement along the Allegheny river found on maps of that date that seems likely to be the settlement referred to. John Keating of Philadelphia was a large land owner in McKean and Potter counties.—*Tr.*

stances. But for success in the new life he had adopted it will seldom be less than one hundred *louis* [equal to about 400 dollars].

The amount of land that he buys for his farm is 200 or 300 acres. He pays on account one-third or one-fourth and gives to the proprietor a sort of *acte de reverse*, in the language of the country he pays by instalments. This *acte* stipulates an annual interest of six or seven per cent., and besides requires him to pay each year one-tenth of the principal. If he pays fully in advance he receives at once a deed in full. In this way by labor and economy he finds himself in a short time the owner of an estate worth about 10,000 piastres [equal to about \$10,000].

His first need on arrival is to add a house to the cabin his predecessor left. For this he builds a foundation of thick stone raised four or five feet from the ground; this forms a cellar and store-room, two things which he needs to preserve his provisions in a country where the winters are as severe as with us. Upon the wall he builds a house of wood; its construction both inside and out resembles that of our mountaineers. It is two stories and each floor has at least two rooms properly ceiled. The boards of the first floor are of thick timber to insure warmth. The windows are small but arranged symmetrically and glazed. The roof is covered with shingles or boards, as with us but with this difference, we use shingles of fir and in America, where this wood is scarce, they use oak. They are not so easily made but they last longer.

Such a house is built in a few days; for one of the first establishments of a new settlement is a saw-mill, which works day and night, furnishing a great quantity of boards. Besides these planters all know how to use an axe, and they make it their duty to assist each other. They ask only reciprocity for their day's work, and are content with being fed or treated to a few glasses of brandy. The construction of a new house is always finished as with us by a feast. The sum necessary for this convenient lodge is only about five guineas [equal to about \$25.00]. A connection is made with the old cabin, which is used as a kitchen. As for cattle, agricultural implements, seeds, furniture, and other necessities they can be bought in the neighborhood.

Once the new settler has housed his family he converts the clearing of his predecessor into a meadow. The grass grows so rapidly in this country that he can mow it the first year. Besides he plants 200 or 300 fruit-trees, mostly apples, for making cider which, with whiskey [Lit., *eau-de-vie de grain*] is his usual beverage. During the summer his cattle, finding pasture in the country, give him little trouble. But at the approach of winter he must build a stable to house them and a granary for his harvest. If his means permit he will build both new. If not he simply enlarges the old shed of his predecessor; for the first year it is enough to have the animals covered if they have plenty of food.

In the course of his farming he adds to the quantity cleared land by cutting the trees, clearing away the brush, and in improving what has been plowed. As this land has already produced two or three crops of corn it is fit for other crops. The settler sows some wheat for his bread, rye for his whiskey, oats for his horses, corn for his poultry, vegetables and potatoes for his family; hemp, flax, and to-

bacco are rare, as these crops may fail. The vegetables that he plants for his family are beets, carrots, parsnips, turnips, radishes, peas, beans, cabbage of all kinds, cauliflower, celery, angelica, lettuce, asparagus, peppers, onions, leeks, water-melons, musk-melons, canteloups, cucumbers, mandrakes and pumpkins.

After looking at this list it is plain that the farmer at the end of the second year is in as comfortable a position as any farmer in Europe. But it will be asked what part of these products he uses and what part he turns into money. At first he sells a part where he lives, for in a weak settlement, weak as it may be, there are always a certain number of artisans who can earn more by working at their trade than by farming. Outside of these there are always new settlers coming in who having the assurance that they can buy what they need for the first year do not go to the trouble of transporting it; but the principal outlet is through merchants who go to the shops and farms to buy whatever the farmers have to sell, grain, flour, vegetables, hay, whiskey, tobacco, leather, furs, hemp, flax, tar, potash, etc. These products are transported by land to certain entrepôts, and from there by means of the rivers, to the sea. People do not appreciate the enormous trade that the Americans have in these productions with Spanish houses and the colonies. I dare even hazard the assertion that the American farmers, however far in the interior of the country they may be, have better facilities of disposing of their products than those of Poland and Hungary.

It is the nature of the country to which they owe this advantage. There is no country in the whole world so well watered as the United States. No where else does one find so many streams, lakes and rivers. These, except in some places where they may have to be cut through or dammed, are navigable almost from their source to the sea. Their numerous windings make of this vast territory a great assemblage of little peninsulas, that Providence seems to have made for living in the closest intercourse.

Look at the River Hudson. It carries from Albany to New York, that is to say, a distance of fifty leagues, all the products of that State. Above Albany even it is navigable for boats for twenty-four leagues, with the exception of two falls which necessitate transport by land, but in each case the distance is only 2,000 paces. It is to this internal navigation that New York owes the great trade in produce that it has abroad. I will give an idea of it; it will serve also to give the reader some conception of the products of the country. These exportations consist of earthenware, peas, corn, potatoes, onions, lumber, staves, horses, sheep, butter, cheese, oysters, pickles, beef, pork, hemp, flax, potash, soda, furs, hair, berries, [Fr. *mahony*] honey, beeswax, etc. Part of these products come to Europe and the remainder are sold in the West Indies. In the year 1775 alone, New York exported 677,700 bushels of wheat, 2,555 tons of bricks, 2,828 tons of flour. The number of vessels employed in this trade was 1,075, carrying a total of 40,812. See Smith, Hist. of N. Y., page 213.

Cast your eyes upon the Delaware. A multitude of vessels descend it and unload at Cape Henlopen in order to send from there to Philadelphia the wealth of one part of Pennsylvania, whilst the products of another part go by way of the Susquehanna to fill the stores of Baltimore. As the transport of goods from Cape Henlopen

to Philadelphia must be by carts 118 miles over very bad roads, it means that Philadelphia is not as well situated for commerce as New York and Baltimore.¹ However here is a list of its exports for the year 1787. The figures are taken from the "*American Museum*" and can be relied upon:

TABLE OF EXPORTS FROM PHILADELPHIA IN 1787.

Bushels of wheat	32,957
Barrels of flour.....	193,720
Barrels of earthenware.....	26,953
Staves	4,333
Bushels of shelled corn.....	193,943
Hogsheads of tobacco.....	2,025
Barrels of beer.....	604
Boxes of starch.....	220
Bushels of flaxseed.....	98,012
Bales of furs.....	314
Barrels of beeswax.....	165
Firkins of lard.....	2,532
Barrels of beef and pork—salt.....	4,160
Barrels of hams	1,062
Boxes of candles	702
Bales of leather.....	377
Barrels of corn-meal.....	14,710
Barrels of barley-meal.....	306
Barrels of oat-meal	7,421
Barrels of peas and beans.....	919
Barrels of apples	2,555
Bushels of potatoes.....	8,656
Bushels of turnips	195
Barrels of nuts.....	1,852
Bushels of onions	4,373
Pounds of cheese.....	29,472
Quintals of dried fish.....	4,718
Barrels of honey.....	91
Tuns of rum	1,266
Bricks	423,469
Cases of linseed oil.....	62
Cases of turpentine.....	119
Reams of paper	2,481
Pounds of sassafras.....	2,000

Without counting a multitude of other articles that would be too long to repeat and which any one can ascertain in the *American Museum* for September, 1788.

Virginia, Maryland and the border country of the western territory, by means of the Potomac supply Washington, the new Capital of the United States.

Transport yourself across the Alleghenies to the back parts of Pennsylvania and into the fertile Kentucky, and you will see a mul-

1. How the author could have made such a geographical blunder as this is incomprehensible.—*Tr.*

titude of boats floating down the Ohio, entering the Mississippi and going to New Orleans to exchange their flour and vegetables for the piastres of the Spaniards. The communication by sea between the various states of the Federation is not less easy. The merchandise of New Hampshire can be sent to Georgia, that is to say a distance of 400 leagues, as easily and as quickly as it would go in France from Provence to Picardy; in England from Cornwall to Caithness, or in Spain from Gallacia to Catalonia.

In spite of the advantages that the settler of the second class has from his local position it is rarely that he becomes a rich farmer. But it is solely his fault. Some one long ago said that "where nature does much for man, man does little to help nature." This statement is verified, if anywhere, in the new settlements. The easy work and the fertility of the soil render the settler careless and lazy. His farm is usually badly cultivated. His crops are often destroyed by his own cattle, which jump over the ill-constructed fences if they wish to get into his wheat. He does not take sufficient care of his horses and they grow lean and are not able to do as much work as they otherwise would. If the winter is a little longer than usual he runs short of fodder and has to send part of his stock to be butchered. His house, his furniture, his farm, show the same lack of attention. And in the final analysis, this second class of farmers, who could be so interesting and so happy, rarely furnish good members of society and of the church.

They have, it is true, some idea of religion and are attached to one or other of the numerous sects in which Christians are divided. But that religion is not enlightened. It has little influence over their conduct. It is neither the principle of their morality, nor the object of their hope. It is a mechanical custom, a tradition that has been inherited from their ancestors, to which they conform because they see others conforming. The result is that as they do not understand the influence of public worship, and of a religious education, on the individual, they contribute with parsimony and often unwillingly toward the construction of churches and schools and to the support of those who have consecrated their lives to preaching the gospel and instructing the young. The State also has much difficulty in collecting their taxes, though very small; and they can easily understand that the Government which protects them could not exist if each class of citizens did not contribute according to his means and furnish the funds that it needs. But so inconsiderate is the human race that if left to its own light it is blinded to its own interests and ungrateful to those who govern.

As to their ruling passions, it is noticeable that nearly all the planters of the second class, (I except the Hollanders, who are usually sober and industrious) become lazy, addicted to drink, fond of gambling and extravagance. They are fond of company and so neglect their farms for the taverns and clubs, where they spend their days reading the newspapers and talking politics and their nights smoking, drinking and gambling. What is the result of that mode of life? The farmer gets into debt, and at the end of four or five years is compelled to sell his farm to satisfy his creditors. He is fortunate when his debts are paid if he has anything left to enable

him to make a new settlement farther inland. By his departure he makes room for the third and last variety of farmers.

III.

The planter of the third class is a man of some fortune, a decent education, and a good character. Son of a farmer, he joins the theory of agriculture to intelligent practice. He does not work his land haphazard, but on rational principles confirmed by experience. Such a man would make a fortune anywhere. He can make it quickly in America because the land is so cheap and the soil fertile.

As to the price of land in the new settlement it is impossible to be precise. The quality of the soil, the neighborhood of mills, factories, churches, and courts of justice, the distance from navigable rivers and seaports, the kind of highways and many other things and factors. Let us give a general idea. One hundred acres of improved land was sold regularly by the states for six guineas (\$30.00) outside of some additional charges. They would thus cost the first purchaser about ten batz¹ per acre. In passing through several hands and with the increase in population they have risen to one dollar (35 batz). Today they can be sold to settlers arriving from Europe at two to three dollars; but they receive advances so large and are given such long terms that the profit is reduced to a small amount. It should be noted, too, that the price of two or three dollars will not last long, for let the twentieth part become cultivated and it will greatly increase. As to the unimproved land, when a part has been cleared by the first settler it is resold to the second at as much as four guineas (\$20.00) per acre. And after the improvements made by him it may be sold again to the third at even ten guineas (\$50.00) per acre or about 300 Swiss francs. He requires then a large capital to make part payment for a farm of 300 acres, and to buy live stock and other things necessary to work it. Such enterprises are not undertaken by everybody.

Likewise it may be that the planter of the third class has no sooner arrived at his place than he begins to turn into meadows the land that he can irrigate. If it is not capable of irrigation he makes artificial meadows that are almost as good. He builds a barn and a big granary, not of wood as his predecessor, but of stone, putting up usually a building 100 feet by 40. He makes the walls very thick for it is noticed in that country as in ours that the flocks that are warmly housed eat less than when they are always cold. He puts some system into his work and economy into his expenses; for example, his predecessor heated his house with large fireplaces that required much toil in cutting and carting the necessary wood; but he on the other hand uses stoves in his rooms and the fireplaces only for cooking. He repairs and strengthens his hedges to keep his flocks out of his grain. He increases the amount of wheat land either by improving what is cleared or by clearing more. Newly cleared land produces large crops of turnips with which he can fatten

1. *Batz* is a small copper coin with a mixture of silver, formerly current in some parts of Germany and Switzerland, worth three to four cents, though our author reckons it at less than three.—*Ed.*

his cattle and economize on his fodder. To the several kinds of grain sowed before he adds the cultivation of buckwheat and barley. One or the other does very well. Nor does he want for a garden. He cultivates it, reserving for this purpose about two acres. Watered with a limpid spring, planted with fruit trees, decorated with arbors of acacia, ornamented with honeysuckles and roses, his garden furnishes him at the same time vegetables for his table, fruits for his dessert and a delightful promenade for his family. The walls and fences of the farm are *couvert d'espaliers* [i.e., walls upon which fruit grows]. It is to peaches that he gives the preference, because the trees thrive well, grow quickly and bear much fruit. It is from the peach that they make the favorite brandy of America called "Peach Brandy." He also makes trellis on which grow very good grapes.

In the course of all this work his sons work at his side from one year's end to the other, whilst his daughters employ their time spinning, making linen, and weaving cloth for their clothing. Enter his granaries, they are gorged with provisions; in his stables you will see the finest flocks; in his house you will find neatness and comfort. His table is always covered with honey, butter, cheese, pork, chickens, fresh meat and salt; cider and brandy are his usual drinks. When it is hot he substitutes beer for cider. On Sundays and holidays he has wine. Each haying and harvest are ended with a fete. In the winter the young people of both sexes gather for dances, and it is possibly the only class of people we know that cling to the innocent pleasures of olden times.

With such a character it is easily understood that they are good, honest, and obliging; that they like good company and especially that of foreigners. As their property increases they appreciate the value of laws and are exact in the payment of their taxes. They also contribute liberally to the support of churches and schools; because they realize how much influence these institutions have upon the prosperity of the public, and the happiness of individuals. But that which characterizes them above all is their public spirit. Public spirit springs principally from two sources, property and independence. One should not therefore be surprised to find it in these people to so great a degree.

Such are the three kinds of men who in times past succeeded each other in the new settlements in America; and the three degrees of culture which were found and are still to be found as the land is cleared. Besides that is not general. Exceptions can always be made. A host of farmers have come from Europe, settled on land that they cleared and carried it through all three states of culture and left it as an inheritance for their children. You can find in the neighborhood of Philadelphia farms that are today cultivated by the descendants of men who accompanied William Penn across the ocean. The fickle and the bad character that are encountered come principally from Canada and the northern parts. As they were usually hunters and vagabonds they wish to continue so. But these people serve a purpose. They are the scouts and light infantry of the army of farmers who come after. They break the roads and save much trouble. In a word they are the means that Providence has provided to quickly people this great continent.

What I have said shows that no one should go to America with the idea of making a fortune quickly. He would be deceived and afterward repent his rash undertaking. In that country as in ours the earth does not yield a harvest to him who does not water it with the sweat of his brow. The man who shirks work, gambles, and drinks, will be as miserable on that side of the sea as on this. In order to gain a competence, the obstacles are great, the privations many, and the labor for the first two years very trying; after that it is essential that love of work be joined to system and economy. Nevertheless the advantage of the low price of land, the fertility of the soil, as also of other things are real benefits to individuals who go there.

1°. The robust man, with strong arms, the laborer who lives here without a home, with only his day's work, he can better his condition by going to the New World. Here provisions are dear and he receives only 14 or 15 batz (35 batz equal \$1.00) per day. There bread, meat and brandy are at a fair price and he receives as wages usually one dollar per day. During haying and harvest or at the approach of winter, when the rich farmer needs more help, he gets still more. When a man of that class finds himself chained to the position in life to which he was born, he will be assured of a better living and less arduous service; but it will not come to him unless he shows himself worthy by his conduct. He will then find land to clear or a farm to work and this will come to him without money, without security, without any guarantee other than that of his strong right arm.

Here begins a very great contrast. In our country a workman, if he has a large family, passes his life in hardship and want; his children as well as himself often lack clothing and sometimes bread; if he is sick he receives little aid. When he becomes old he may beg from door to door. The landlord holds him of no account for having sacrificed his life to maintain and enrich him. In America with less than half the pains he may become the owner of a domain of 100 acres, and of the value, as I have before stated of about 10,000 ecus [one ecu equal to about three francs or 60 cents]. With this he does not dread the increase of his family; on the contrary he will have more hands to assist in his work, more beings dear to his heart to whom he will leave a goodly heritage. Then he no longer fears old age, he is assured of passing that time, however long, in the midst of plenty, until death closes his eyes and he comes to return his soul to God and his mortal remains to the earth from which it was taken.

2°. Emigration is equally suited to farmers with a large family that they cannot support, sometimes not even feed, because their lands are too small, too poor or too much encumbered. If these people will convert what they possess in this country into money, and go with some money, some courage, faith in God, and a great ambition to succeed they may become farmers of the second or even of the third class. Consequently they may find themselves at once in the position of many good Swiss peasants, that is to say, that they have some funds and some debts, some produce to sell and some interest to pay. Their fate depends upon their industry and good conduct. But here is the difference. In our country a peasant in debt

and with a large family can very seldom extricate himself because his crops are uncertain and interest on money is very high; if he can, as they say, make two ends of each year meet, he may consider himself very fortunate. But in dying he usually leaves a contested estate, which passing through the hands of creditors and lawyers is reduced to little or nothing. I have known some very honest laborers, who after fifty years of toil and privation have left only debts to their children.

In America, on the contrary, an economical farmer may pay off at the end of five or seven or at the most ten years, a considerable amount, it may be the farm he works. His debts once paid he has abundance. His sons no longer enlist nor become laborers; they settle about him and work on their own account. His daughters do not spend their youth as servants or do worse yet; they marry into the families of honest farmers; for wherever the land is fertile, where it will repay its cultivation, young people will marry in good time. The fear of want can alone prevent man from taking this first vow of nature. A multitude of celibates is the certain mark of a country that is poor or badly governed. I know at the gates of this city a peasant who has six sons, large, robust, well built, all unmarried, because they have not been able to find a little vineyard to become winegrowers, or a little estate to become farmers. That would not be seen in America, for let us never lose sight of the fact that the great difference between that country and ours is that here we have little land and many men while there they have much land and few men.

3°. Emigration can also benefit some persons of higher rank, to those for example who with a modest fortune are unable to keep up the state of luxury they have adopted, for I say openly, any man who has a taste for simplicity and system would be shocked at the style that prevails in our small towns and would easily understand that it cannot last. It will benefit those who have a large family and who cannot provide for their children better than by service among strangers. It will benefit those who (and they are few) discontented with the new order of things prefer to seek elsewhere a government that is wise and stable rather than to await the time when their own will become so. All such people taking capital with them may settle in a populous district and may be planters of the third class, that is to say, rich farmers; and if they do not wish to live by farming they can always find means to employ their capital advantageously.

4°. Men who have trades, carpenters, joiners, masons, weavers, tanners, etc., can perhaps succeed most quickly in the new settlements in America. As they are much needed they are well received. Look at the weavers that Dr. Priestly took with him; they have been there a decade and there is hardly one, except some bad characters, that is not in comfort. The 6,000 Hessians hired to the English during the last war in America did not wish to return when peace was made. Those who had escaped the sword of the enemy deserted by the hundreds and buried themselves in the forests where they could not be captured. As they could wield an axe they made money and found that there was more profit in working for a dollar a day than in returning to Europe to be sold a second time.

I will add that men of learning, men of letters, artists, etc., are well received in America, and they are eager to give them employment in the universities and academies. I have read with regret in a public print that the celebrated Prof. Tralles is preparing to leave Switzerland for the New World. I hope this report will not be confirmed. It would be unfortunate for our country to be required to add to the list of losses it has sustained since the Revolution the small number of savants we still have. But the most of them will not reproach their countrymen as did a philosopher of another time to Pericles: "If you need a lamp you also need to pour in some oil."

And now permit me to make a slight digression. It may interest some men of letters. The Abbé Raynal in his *Hist. Philos.*, VI., 92, edition of Maestrecht, 1774, reproached the Americans with not having produced a good poet, a fair mathematician, or any man of genius in either science or art. To this Mr. Jefferson made this reply: "When we have existed as a nation as long as the Greeks before they produced Homer, as the Romans before they produced Virgil, or the French Voltaire and Racine, the English Shakespeare and Milton, this reproach may be deserved. Yet are we warranted in seeking the melancholy reason why like us other nations of Europe and other large portions of the globe have been unable to place one of their citizens on the list of great poets. In war we have produced Washington whose memory will always be dear to every lover of liberty and whose glory will live when the empty systems of philosophy that seek to disparage it shall be buried in oblivion. In physics we have had a Franklin, who more than any other has enriched that science with his discoveries and experiments. In astronomy we have Rittenhouse, who can scarcely be put in the second rank of living astronomers. It is not alone in military science and philosophy, but also in politics, in eloquence, in painting, in sculpture, that America, though a child of two days, has given proofs of a genius, that warrants us in entertaining the greatest hopes for the future. Besides let us make a calculation. The United States contains 3 millions of inhabitants, France 24, the British Isles 10; we have produced Washington, Franklin and Rittenhouse. France then ought to furnish a dozen and England a relative number of men that can compare with the three we have named. I suppose that this may be, always will be, true, to say that in proportion to our population we have done our share in the republic of letters." Mr. Jefferson could also have cited himself as a great philosopher and an excellent historian, but his modesty prevented. But however this may be, literature is very flourishing in America. It is a result of the general progress and a wise government. Moreover, they have established schools and academies; they have founded libraries and museums of physics and natural history and provided learned professors.

Let us return to our subject. Although many are benefited by going to the New World no one should resolve to do so hurriedly, nor without considering the risk of so important an adventure. It is easy in a moment of enthusiasm to say, "I am going to America," but remember that a cruel and tardy repentance sometimes follows such ill-considered remarks. The wise man will begin by informing himself about the climate, the methods of agriculture, means of living, distance of places, the roads to take, the obstacles to be en-

countered, and the dangers that surround. It is commonly believed that all is finished when the ocean is crossed. Not at all. Difficulties are only begun. One finds himself without acquaintances in the midst of a people whose language he does not know, who have other manners and customs, often prejudiced against strangers; sometimes one pays for a change of climate with an illness. It is necessary to undertake a journey of 200 or 300 leagues to the interior. One must get in touch with people who have land to sell, or who will advance money. Once settled, the land is covered with forest. There is the trouble of getting started, the work of procuring necessities, the solitude, privations, lack of society and assistance; one must expect all and endure all. I know that the light of a beautiful day will follow this cloudy morning, but it is necessary like the Israelites to cross a great desert before attaining the holy land.

Nothing surprises me more or grieves me more than the ignorance of emigrants on the subjects that should interest them. I speak feelingly for I have been consulted by some. Many, for example, imagine that the United States is no larger than Switzerland, that everybody knows everybody else, that it is easy to find whomever you seek, and that it takes but a short time to get to your destination. They do not realize that it is a great country where a European is as much lost and as far from those he seeks as an American would be on arriving in Europe. He knows in general that there is a Kentucky and that citizens Smith and Brown and several estimable farmers have settled there. But ask them definitely where Kentucky is, its latitude, its climate, its products, the value of land, the price of provisions and labor, the way to get there, and the cost of going, they do not know one word. And yet they go!

"Pauvres gens, idiots, couple ignorant et rustre
Le premier qui les vit de rire s'éclata."—*La Fontaine*.

A peasant who lately went to America on a letter from his parents who were settled in Kentucky assured me that he would find them on the other side; there would be no trouble about it as his parents had promised to meet him. I could not make him understand that it was very unlikely that they would travel 250 leagues and return with only the object of meeting him. Surely it would be a rare case of devotion for them to do so. The same ignorance among the peasants of Germany caused the Senate of Hamburg to prevent them from embarking until they had explicit knowledge where they were going, what kind of a country it was, and what they would do when they got there.

Experience has shown that individual emigrations are not easily successful; numbers of individuals perish miserably or linger in want. On the other hand, I believe that if an association of 200 or 300 families of all classes and all trades would combine their fortunes, would start together, arrive together, and settle together in the same country they would easily succeed. Before ten years it would form a center to which would come the families that have left Europe singly. The men could unite for easier accomplishment. Often what is impossible to an individual is easy to ten; so also the dangers that beset individuals fly from even the feeblest association. Besides 200 or 300 families would make plans and adopt a line of

conduct and not do everything by chance. They would choose a leader and subordinate themselves to his will. They could procure guides and protection. Perhaps they might even find it advisable to send out an advance party to examine their location and to begin settlements. I shall not discuss the advisability of a government allowing such a collection of foreign families to locate in its midst. That is a subject that I will treat by itself. I shall not inquire if there are some rich and enterprising persons who have considered putting themselves at the head of such an enterprise. I look upon it as possible. Since it entered my mind I have thought over it much and I can offer some suggestions. They will not be quite useless and they are the only viaticum I can give such an association.

America is divided into North and South America united by the isthmus of Panama. We will consider only the former. It belongs in part to the natives, part to the English and part to the Republic known as the United States of America.¹ The territory of the latter is uneven, broken by hills and valleys. There are mountains but they are not so high as those of Europe. The highest are those that extend from Canada to Georgia; they are a series of ranges placed one behind the other. They have as yet no generic name. Mr. Evans calls them the "Endless Mountains"; others call them the Appalachians, from the name of a tribe that lies on the river Appalachicola. However it is gradually becoming customary to call them Allegheny, the name of one of their principal branches. We shall so call them hereafter.

The Allegheny Mts. divide the United States into two parts. The one, the East, is more populous and better cultivated; the other, the West, is where the new settlements are located. The land rises gradually from the sea to the mountains; it falls away similarly on the other side to the great lakes and the river Mississippi. They are then the backbone of America and the reservoir of the rivers that water it just as the Appenines are the backbone of Italy. But the part lying east of the mountains is essentially different from what lies to the westward. From the state of Georgia to New York there may be found places several hundred miles long by sixty or eighty, or even larger, which are flat, sandy and entirely without stone. They have given rise to the following questions:

- 1°. Have they been in this condition since the creation?
- 2°. Are they formed by sand carried by the rivers and by the vegetable substances reduced to their elemental condition?
- 3°. Are they alluvial, continually augmented by sand such as the Gulf of Mexico continually throws upon its shores?

The following phenomena will serve to fix the mind of the reader upon one or other of these theories:

1°. Shells and other marine objects, notably seaweed, are often found at a depth of three fathoms [toises equal to 6.39 feet]. When wells are dug, fresh water is found at a depth of four or five feet; deeper it is salt and not potable.

2°. Upon the banks of the rivers are found dunes or hillocks of sand arranged in ridges, and appearing to have been so placed by

1. The French holdings had just been extinguished; but our author here ignores Spanish claims.—*Ed.*

action of water. When they dig down twenty feet they find trunks of trees, leaves, roots, etc.; and that at eighty miles from the sea. As one approaches the dunes become less high, but they are always formed of alternate beds of trees and fine sand. Some trunks have been taken out absolutely intact and as well preserved as if they had been swallowed up by a convulsion of the earth.

3°. The rivers frequently change their course. The marshes and lowlands fill up. The land gains each year on the ocean; at Cape Lookout in North Carolina, in latitude $34^{\circ} 50'$, there was once a fine harbor large enough for a hundred ships; now it is entirely filled up.

4°. From the Allegheny Mountains to the sea the land slopes gradually from a total height of 800 feet and mariners have observed from soundings that this same inclination is prolonged into the sea.

5°. Another observation worthy of remark is that the lands are better or worse in proportion as they are more or less distant from the mountains. In the neighborhood of the mountains you find gravel mixed with stones and coarse sand; farther down these become much lighter. Finally near the sea there is a perfect clay of a different quality from the ordinary, as it is veined with red lines similar to the yellow sometimes found near the foot of the Alleghenies. This clay when exposed to the action of water breaks up into a fine sand devoid of any trace of gravel. Now every body knows that the mountain torrents deposit first the heavy particles, then those that are lighter, and so on until it is entirely clear.

6°. Upon the banks of the Savannah, ninety miles from the sea in a straight line or 200 miles by following the winding of the river, you can find piles of oyster shells of great thickness. They extend from northeast to southwest, that is, parallel to the bank of the river. They form three rows separated from each other and occupying a width of seven miles. The indigo planters have taken a very large quantity of them to their farms to make lime water, which they use; in spite of that much still remains. It cannot be said that these oysters were brought from the sea by the Indians. How could they do it in that burning climate and against the course of a river so rapid. Their origin can be reasonably explained only by supposing that the sea once covered that country. In combining these various observations one is justified in concluding that the whole flat country from the Alleghenies to the sea is a conquest; that the deposits of the rivers and other circumstances have concurred to take it from the ocean. Naturalists who wish further information on this subject can consult a very interesting work entitled "Inquiry into the original state and formation of the earth," by John Whitehurst.

Without regard to this there are new settlements started beyond the mountains, either toward the south at the rear of Virginia in a country called Kentucky; or at the north in the rear of Pennsylvania in a land known as the Genesee country. (We will call it hereafter simply Genesee.) The European colonist who goes to either of these places should divide his journey into four parts:

1°. The journey to some seaport.

2°. Embarking and crossing the ocean.

3°. Ascending from the American coast to the summit of the Alleghenies,

4°. Descending from that point to where he has fixed his domicile.

Those of our country who go to Kentucky go usually to Bordeaux. They embark there for Baltimore, Alexandria or some other port on the Chesapeake Bay. From there they cross Virginia. This state is eighty leagues wide. Beyond that they encounter a wilderness and some very bad roads. In the end, after a journey of more than 250 leagues they come to the banks of the Ohio. Such a journey requires carts, beds, bedding, provisions, and arms. It is so difficult that it seems rash to undertake it with women and children. Notwithstanding it is said that citizen Dufour¹ with his colony followed that route, and that they arrived in perfect health.

Kentucky is a vast country bounded on the northwest and the west by the Ohio, at the east by a range of mountains, known as the Blue Mountains, and at the south by Carolina. Its length is 250 English miles and its width about 200. It is situated between the 36th and 39th degrees of north latitude. Consequently it is about eight degrees further south than Switzerland. It is divided into seven counties: Jefferson, LaFayette, Bourbon, Mercer, Nelson, Madison, and Lincoln. Its principal towns are Lexington, which is the capital, Leestown, and Louisville. The larger villages are Bardstown, Harrodsburg, Dunville, Granville, and Boonesborough. The rest of the country shows only farms more or less separated from one another. The first white man who discovered Kentucky was James McBride. This adventurer, accompanied by some friends, crossed the Ohio in 1754 and came upon the mouth of the Kentucky. His first care was to cut on an old tree yet standing the initials of his name, and the date of his arrival. A little after he returned home and reported that he had discovered the most fertile country in the United States and perhaps in the entire world. From this time it was not visited until John Finley with some companions went to Kentucky

1. "Early in the session [1799] the Legislature passed an act incorporating a vineyard society in order to promote the cultivation of the vine. A vineyard was commenced under a few Swiss emigrants on the north side of the Kentucky river above the mouth of Hickman's creek. It was thought for a few years that it would succeed; but subsequently it has declined and is now extinct or but little productive. Whether it is a subject not adapted to corporation management, and has failed for want of care and proper cultivation, or has yielded to the severity of winter spells of weather, which so often kill the fruit and sometimes affect the trees, has not been precisely determined, nor will the subject be here discussed."—*Marshall's Hist. Ky., II, 319, ed., 1824.*

The act of the Legislature referred to above is printed in full in Toulmin's "Collection of Acts of the Gen. Ass. Ky.," Frankfort, 1802, p. 387. It was passed Nov. 21, 1799. The incorporators are Samuel Brown, John A. Seitz, Peter D. Robert, Andrew Holmes, William Leavey, Alexander Parker, Thomas Bodley, John Bradford, Robert Patterson, Walker Baylor, Benjamin Stout, James Hughes and others. Section 5 of the act says: "The said directors may recover any sum of money now due by any person to the association, agreeable to the terms of a contract between John James Dufour, and the subscribers to the Kentucky association for the establishment of a vineyard, or which may become due as debts of the like are now recoverable by law."—*Tr.*

to trade with the Indians for furs. The country then did not have the name by which it is now known. The Indians sometimes called it the middle country and sometimes the Bloody Ground. The beauty of the country, the size of the trees, the fertility of the soil induced him to travel through it, even though having quarrelled with the savages he had to decamp.

Returning to Carolina he imparted his observations to Colonel Boone and some others. He spoke to them of this new country with so much enthusiasm that they determined to go there. Resolved if necessary to dispute the land with the Indians, they set out in 1773 well armed and equipped. After a very toilsome journey across rugged mountains and almost impassable forests, our adventurers arrived at the summit of a hill from which they could see the Ohio and a great part of Kentucky. They were enchanted by the view. They resolved to camp in this spot and fortify it, and to build a hut. The first days were occupied in hunting in order to obtain provisions. This was not difficult in a region filled with game. This done Colonel Boone left his companions to guard the camp and set out with Finley to explore the country. After several days they returned without any bad adventures.

Here ended the good luck of our adventurers; from this time they experienced only illness, mishaps and want. In the end they were attacked and after a vigorous resistance massacred by the Indians, with the single exception of Colonel Boone, who found means to escape. Far from being discouraged by the loss of his comrades, this truly extraordinary man resolved to remain in the forest alone, determined not to leave this country until he had explored it thoroughly. He passed two entire years, living by the chase, defending himself from the savages, and having no other companions than his gun and his dog. He incurred the greatest danger from the Indians and had the most extraordinary encounters with them, of which he has given an account. I know of no better companion of his adventures than those of Robinson Crusoe; they were even more romantic.

However the discovery of Kentucky became in Virginia the principal subject of conversation. What was told there attracted the attention of Dr. Walker, who went himself as far as the Ohio. This doctor, for himself and Gen. Lewis, bought from the Indians a large tract north of the river Kentucky. A little after Col. Donatson acquired another from the Five Nations, nearly in the same district, for the sum of 500 louis [about \$2,000.00]. His example was followed in 1775 by Col. Henderson, who bought the whole country from the Iroquois Indians for the sum of £6,000. Such immense acquisitions by individuals, who might pose as sovereigns, alarmed the State of Virginia, which refused to ratify the contracts. It took the place of Col. Donatson and paid the Indians the stipulated amount. It made the same arrangement with Col. Henderson; nevertheless in consideration of the trouble he had taken it allowed him 200,000 acres of excellent land situated at the mouth of the Green River. His own State (he was from Carolina) gave him with the same motive an equal quantity in the valley of the Powell.

This was followed by complaints of various tribes of Indians. They claimed that the Iroquois had no right to sell the land that

they held in common, and disputed the right of Virginia to hold it under that sale. This resulted in a long and bloody war, which justified the name of "Bloody Ground" that Kentucky had borne of old. In the end the Indians were beaten and obliged to withdraw to the Ohio, leaving the possession of the country to the new settlers, who came there in crowds.

They came mostly from the mountains of Virginia and from Canada. As the land that the Canadians possessed required careful cultivation and the winters ample supply of fodder for their cattle, they moved further south; for on the one hand these lands were more fertile and easily cultivated, and on the other the winters were very short. They began after Christmas and ended before March. Snow falls there rarely and melts as it falls. All the rest of the year cattle pasture in the fields with no care of feeding. These circumstances drew a crowd of the habitants of the north to the banks of the Ohio. It would permit them to live the careless and dissipated life that is characteristic of them. Soon a quantity of Europeans, Scotch, English, Irish, Westphalians, Jutlanders and Swiss joined them; so that the immense country was cultivated and peopled with a rapidity that was wonderful and of which there is no parallel in the annals of history.

In 1783, nine years after the first settlements, there were 3,570 men capable of bearing arms. In 1784 the number of inhabitants was 30,000. In 1788 it was 100,000. Today it is more than 200,000. In the year 1787 alone, there arrived 20,000 new settlers, and if that continues it will not be impossible that by the end of the century there will be a million. In America they debate very often the following question: "Is the rapid increase of population advantageous or otherwise to the Republic?" Most of the politicians are for the affirmative; the illustrious historian of Virginia, Thomas Jefferson, is of a different opinion. See how he reasons on this subject:

"The number of inhabitants of Virginia was in

1632	2,000	1700	22,000
1644	4,822	1748	82,100
1645	5,000	1759	105,000
1652	7,000	1772	153,000
1654	7,209	1782	567,614

"Various causes that do not exist today, principally war with the Indians, prevented the population from increasing rapidly until the year 1754. Since that time the increase was nearly uniform. In the space of 118 years it rose from 7,209 to 153,000; that is the population was doubled in each period of 27½ years. The enumerations made in the intermediate years, 1700, 1748 and 1759 are the proof. If this increase continues Virginia will have six or seven millions before a century; which, calculating its area at 64,941 square miles would give it, like England, nearly 100 inhabitants to the square mile.

"Admitting that, does the desire of seeing the population increase by the swarms of settlers that come from foreign lands conform with the view of wise politics, or has it not some great disadvantages that will counterbalance or destroy the advantages? Each government has its individual principles. Those of the United States are

the happy combination of English freedom and the rights derived as much from nature as from reason. Nothing is more diametrically opposed to them than the principles of absolute monarchy. However it is the kingdoms of Europe that are sending most of the new colonists. They bring with them the maxims and prejudices of the regime under which they have lived, or they come entirely without them, and so pass from one extreme to the other, that is to say, from servitude to license. It would be a miracle if they should halt at the intermediate point of temperate liberty. These maxims and prejudices not only influence their own political conduct but are transmitted to their children. These in proportion to their numbers will be elected to the legislatures and there diffusing the spirit that animates them, will finish by making the political system without coherence, without harmony, and without aim. What passed in the last war is an indication of this; and while it may not be demonstrable it is possible or even probable. Is it not wise therefore to allow the gradual march of time to open the United States to a stage of population necessary for the greatest prosperity of the State? Its government will then be more peaceable and more enduring. Suppose we should transport all at once twenty millions of republicans to Austria, that kingdom would be more troubled, less happy and less stable than at present. The arrival of half a million foreigners in Virginia will produce the same effect. If they come by themselves let them be received and let them be given the rights of citizens; but do not draw them by offering all sorts of attractions. I except artisans. We need them and the State should spare no pains to procure a greater number."

Such are the ideas of Mr. Jefferson and they appear to me to be well founded. Those who wish to go into greater detail are referred to his excellent work entitled, "History of Virginia," by Thomas Jefferson, Esq., to which is prefixed a large whole sheet map of Virginia. I will add that America ought above all to keep from its midst all persons imbued with Jacobinism, with atheism, and with revolutionary principles. They would not hesitate to overthrow this happy country and make it the theater of their mania.

Kentucky is underlaid with limestone, covered with a bed of black, vegetable earth about two feet thick on what they call first class land. This stone, when at the bottom of the rivers, is grayish; it becomes brown in the air; it hardens and is good for building. The banks of the rivers, which are steep, almost perpendicular, show a kind of rock, similar to fine marble and capable of a very fine polish. In some places are coal mines and there is clay that is fit for pottery. The face of the country is uneven and varied; on the east are mountains; the remainder is a combination of little valleys and sloping hills, their inclination being commonly about 35 degrees. All that is not cleared is covered with copse or very thick forest. The forest is set with oaks, elms, and poplars. The walnut (*noier*) grows there naturally and thrives; it is commonly found eight or ten feet in diameter. The wild strawberries are of good flavor and larger than any in Europe. Blackberries, strawberries and raspberries flourish. The vine is indigenous; it grows without cultivation; attaching itself to the trees it climbs to their tops and its

branches fall back to the earth like garlands. The grapes that it bears are good to eat, but the wine is only passable.

The trees peculiar to this country are:

1°. *The Cucumber Tree*. It produces a fruit that has a good flavor and shaped like the vegetable from which it receives its name.

2°. *The Coffee Tree*. It is a species of oak with brown leaves, which bears pods full of kernels resembling coffee. They roast it in the same way, grind it and make a drink that is not bad.

3°. *The Sugar Tree*. It is a species of maple. The sap when evaporated leaves a residue, which is sweet as sugar and may replace it. To procure the sap it is only necessary to make an incision in the bark of the tree, as we do to the firs to obtain resin; but it is necessary to stop the flow in due season or the tree will be killed; with good management a tree can be tapped for several years.

The forests are full of various sorts of herbs that furnish good pasturage. The *Magnolia*, the plant of which the blossom is so beautiful and the perfume so exquisite, covers the country and makes it look like a garden in flower. Peaches, apricots, figs, apples, oranges, etc., have all been acclimated and succeed marvelously.

The wild animals and the species of game are the same as in Virginia, but the forests are full of wild buffalos. They are hunted with zeal either because their flesh is good to eat, or because there is considerable trade in the leather made from them, which is much esteemed. They have begun to tame them to use for beef and domestic service. Bees are found in large numbers, both on the farms and in the surrounding forest, where they frequently go on swarming; but they are not indigenous to the country, they have been taken in by the settlers. In this way has come the remark of the Indians who if they see bees while hunting say: "Come on, brothers, it is time for us to go. The white men are coming."

The rivers are full of fish; outside a large number of fish peculiar to the country, we find our salmon, mullets, perch and eels. There are no herrings, sardines, nor trout; the last are found farther north. Frogs are scarce, as also the snakes, and of the latter the few that are found are not poisonous [Literally, "are not of an ill-doing species"]. What has done much to maintain the supply of fish in the rivers, is the fact that the Indians are not fond of this sort of food and only resort to it when their hunting has been unlucky. They never use lines, but when they take the notion to fish they put out in their canoes with bows and arrows; they paddle standing in order the better to see the fish; when they see one they pierce it with an arrow.

It is certainly a rich and fertile country. But its fertility has been exaggerated. The American authors are the first to admit it. See "The American Geography," by Morse, page 405. As may be expected, it produces wheat, rye, barley, oats, all kinds of fruit and vegetables, cotton, hemp, flax, and tobacco. Nevertheless, according to reports of this last product the land is too moist to produce it of a quality equal to that of Virginia. The best land produces 60 to 100 measures of wheat to the acre [I am not quite sure how much is indicated by the word "measure."—Translator]. The second class lands produce 30 to 40 measures. The remainder of the soil is not

at all even. There as in our country some land is strong and some light, some cold and some warm, some good and some bad. It may be divided into four classes from the best to the least fertile, and the price varies in proportion. There is much that is not worth the trouble of working. One may judge of this by the details we give in what follows.

All the hillsides are capable of being turned into vineyards, the temperature, lay of the land, and soil are all suitable. But then it would not be very profitable for the following reasons:

1°. Cider, beer, and various kinds of brandy are the usual drinks of the people.

2°. Wine is not dear. As it comes to America by sea it costs but little more than in Europe, and it is improved by the journey.

3°. The culture of the vine requires time and some advances of money, for it is five years before the harvest. In a country like this people usually arrive with many wants and little money and they will for a long time turn to better account the culture of wheat, hemp, flax, etc., and with these they can easily buy what wine they want.

4°. Vines have been introduced in small numbers, but it happens when they begin to ripen they are all devoured by the enormous flocks of wild birds that cover the vineyards. This great difficulty diminishes the amount that may be gathered in the forest as also what would be added by this kind of crop.

After this one probably thinks of the settlement of Citizen Dufour, known by the name of "New Vineyard." It may succeed in part but I doubt complete success or much profit. As for the price of 200 guineas per car [Fr. *char*] received last year, which price is given in one of the numbers of "*Nouvelliste Vaudois*" (an estimable paper and edited by a man of talent) it is either a typographic error or nonsense. It would be a fool who could put any faith in such a story. Doubtless vineyards will be started gradually in the United States and Europe will lose that important trade. Perhaps no one is better fitted to succeed in this branch than the Citizens Dufour; their faith and industry will overcome all obstacles. They are from Montrose, and are convinced that Providence has destined them to introduce the vine in the New World. They love to call themselves the modern Noahs; with such convictions success seems almost assured. Except for physical impossibilities a man with the will can do anything.

Europe will also lose its trade in butter and cheese with the West Indies. The Americans are much given to producing these articles. What they produce is equal in quality to our own. They make very good cheese in Kentucky; and as for butter, everyone knows the good quality of that from Pennsylvania.

In the country I am describing are two remarkable plants:

1°. *Devil's Bit*. This is a wild plant that bears on its root the mark of a tooth. The Indians say that it was once a universal remedy against all ills, but the Evil Spirit, jealous that men should have such a rare treasure, took a bite of the root. From that it lost most of its virtue and gained its name.

2°. *Blood Root*. This is a species of plantain that puts out six or seven large leaves, veined with red. Its root resembles a carrot.

When broken its interior is more red than the outside, and it trickles drops of blood. It is a violent and dangerous emetic.

As regards the aromatic plants, all species are found, and according to Mr. Catesby they have more perfume and are more volatile than in Europe.

The principal river is the Ohio. It is formed at Fort Pitt by the juncture of the Monongahela and Allegheny, two rivers that take their rise in the back parts of Pennsylvania. It is one of the most beautiful in the whole world. Its current is smooth, its waters clear; it is deep and without rocks. It offers in only one place any obstacle to navigation. At Fort Pitt it is a quarter of a mile wide; it is a half mile wide at the mouth of the Big Kanhawa. At Louisville are some rapids that resemble those in the Rhine at Lauppenbourg. Below it becomes a majestic river, a league and a half wide. During the winter and spring it is fifteen feet deep. It rises gradually from March to July, from the melting of the snow. At this time a man-of-war could go from Kentucky to the Gulf of Mexico if the bends of the river did not prevent steering.

Here let me recall that an adventurer, whose name I shall withhold, formed about fifteen years ago the project of building a frigate on the Ohio and making a descent from Kentucky on New Orleans. He believed that he could take that place at one stroke. The cannon and ball were cast at the same place. The frigate was launched and his preparations nearly complete. But Congress, which did not wish to cause a rupture with Spain, would not allow so manifest a violation of the rights of mankind and put a stop to the enterprise. The frigate was seized, the cannon taken away, and the equipment disposed of. This abortive attempt indicates that it may be tried in the future. Be this as it may there is a growing profit in freighting in large barges all the products of the country, and transporting them to New Orleans. Those who build these barges sell them in New Orleans and return home on foot, like the inhabitants of Appenzel, when they take their wood and produce to Holland; but the return journey of the former is much longer, requiring seven or eight weeks.

If the navigation of the Ohio should be some day cut off by France or Spain, and the port of New Orleans be absolutely closed by the imposition of heavy duties upon their products, the prosperity of Kentucky instead of increasing would be much reduced. For of what use would it be for its inhabitants to raise crops larger than they could consume, if they could neither sell nor export them? Now this event is to be feared. The cession of Louisiana to France by Spain has much alarmed the United States. The neighborhood of a people, belligerent, active and enterprising, ruled by a government under the direction of Bonaparte, can become very unfavorable to Kentucky. This is the way a gazette from Philadelphia puts it: "We are authorized to announce that the government will take all necessary precautions, that we may not apprehend any alarm of our western frontier being endangered by the arrival of the French in Louisiana and New Orleans."

Already the court of Spain has shown a disposition unfriendly and even hostile. The treaty of 1795 assured to the Americans the free navigation of the Mississippi. They could by a very small duty dispose of their products in New Orleans, selling them, or shipping

them abroad. More than one hundred American families were settled there and traded on commission. All at once the Spanish Intendant of New Orleans imposed the enormous duty of four piastres [about \$4.00] on each cask of flour weighing eighteen quintals, [1,800 pounds] and forty piastres for each ton of tobacco. When this was reported in Philadelphia it was believed that the Intendant had acted without authority and that he was speculating by suddenly raising the price of provisions. It was not doubted that the court of Spain would disavow the act of its agent. Consequently the Governor of Mississippi was instructed to write to the Governor-General of Louisiana, denounce the conduct of the Intendant and ask for reparation. He received a very explicit answer which appeared to decide the question. Not only the Governor-General did not disavow the conduct of the Intendant, but he formally declared that he approved it, and that he would take all the consequences. He has even fortified New Orleans as if he feared an attempt by the inhabitants of Kentucky on that important place. On their side the Kentuckians have begun to organize a militia.

The public awaits with impatience the result of this misunderstanding. It is feared that it may cause a rupture between the United States and the Court of Spain. If it were confined to Spain there would be little feeling, for it would mean only a loss to the latter of New Orleans and some of its territory, but if France were involved, and how could it remain neutral, it would be quite another thing. The Government has taken up this matter seriously. In the session of Congress on January 15th Mr. Randolph introduced a motion that has been referred to a committee of the whole. It carries a resolution "That the House has received with as much interest as surprise the advice of the disposition shown by the Spanish Governor of New Orleans to place obstacles to the navigation of the Mississippi guaranteed to the commerce of the United States by the most solemn stipulations; that conforming to the wise and humane policy that should characterize a free people and which has constantly guided the Government of the United States; that attributing at the same time this violation of a treaty more to individual and unauthorized conduct of certain agents than to the bad faith of his Catholic Majesty, and relying with confidence upon the energy and wisdom of the executive power, the House awaits the result of the measures that the Government of the Union has taken to insure the rights of the United States and to obtain redress for the injuries committed toward them; that it is equally the duty of the House, as it is its firm resolve, to maintain the rights and privileges of the commerce and the navigation to the limits of the Mississippi as they are determined by existing treaties." The resolution was debated and it was agreed to refer to the President the duty of settling this affair, and he has appointed Mr. Monroe, who will proceed to Madrid to demand of his Catholic Majesty redress for the injuries received, and the observation of the treaty.

The Ohio has contributed greatly to the rapid settlement of Kentucky, because it furnishes to the inhabitants of northern countries as well as to Europeans who cross Pennsylvania the means of making a large part of their journey at small expense. For this purpose they collect at Fort Pitt and embark there with their effects and their

families. In a few days and for a few piastres [Spanish dollars] they descend this river 694 miles or about 230 French leagues, which is the distance from Fort Pitt to the city of Lexington. Here is a list of the stations and their respective distances:

From Fort Pitt	Miles.	Brought forward	
To Logstown	18½	To Big Kanhawa.....	82½
" Big Beaver Creek....	10¾	" Wyandot	43¾
" Little Beaver Creek... 13½		" Sandy Creek.....	14½
" Yellow Creek.....	11¾	" Scioto	48¾
" Two Creeks.....	21¾	" Little Miami	126¾
" Long Reach.....	53¾	" Licking Creek	8
" End of Long Reach.. 16½		" Big Miami	16¾
" Muskingum	25½	" Big Bones	34½
" Little Kanhawa.....	12¾	" Kentucky	44¾
" Hackhocking	16	" Rapids	77¾
Total English Miles.....			694¾

which is about 230 French leagues.

Outside of the Ohio the other rivers that water Kentucky are:

1°. The river which gives the name to the country; its course is 200 miles, and it is 150 verges [a vergee is about one rood] wide at its mouth.

2°. The Sandy. It forms the eastern boundary of the country.

3°. The Licking. Its course is 100 miles and it is 100 verges wide at its mouth.

4°. The Salt River. It is formed by four smaller rivers and winds through a charming country.

5°. Finally the Cumberland. A very large river which for part of its course waters the northern part of Carolina.

All these rivers take their rise in the eastern part of Kentucky in the long range of mountains which bound it on that side. They are navigable almost from their source to the Ohio, into which they flow. They receive in their course a large number of creeks and torrents; but it should be observed that these latter begin to dry up in the month of June, and they are entirely dry in July, August, and September. In October they flow again. The farmers who live on their banks provide water during the dry season by means of wells. By digging only five or six feet excellent water is found which never fails. The drying up of these creeks is an inconvenience to the mills and factories built on their banks as they can work only eight months in the year. During the other four they have to stop or replace the power by windmills or horse power. Beside this a heavy rain makes them rise quickly 20 or 30 feet; this produces disastrous floods, and necessitates dykes in some places. Beside the fresh water they have found five salt springs in the neighborhood of Saltsburg. They supply salt to the whole country, and export quantities to Illinois; its price is about one louis a quintal [i. e., about \$4.00 per cwt.]. The salt water is obtained from wells that are dug; its strength exceeds the sea-water. The methods of evaporating and crystallizing it are the same as elsewhere. In order to promote the trade in salt a magnificent straight road has been built from

Salzburg to Louisville. It is twenty-four miles long and forty feet wide.

As the rivers aid in distinguishing the various parts, we will again take up some details, giving an idea of the nature of the soil along them and showing that if Kentucky is very fertile in some places, it contains others that are unhealthy, unproductive, and even sterile.

The banks of the *Ohio* for a width of twenty miles are usually rough, stony and unfit for agriculture, so this large strip is little cultivated. The black vegetable lands, and consequently the good farms, are farther inland.

The banks of the river *Rollin* in Nelson county, (it is one of the branches of the Salt river) are too wet for the cultivation of wheat but they afford excellent pasturage. There is no better place for raising cattle and producing a large amount of butter and cheese.

The land along the upper *Kentucky* is cold, hilly, full of torrents and precipices; however one might be able to do well there by introducing our Alpine system of pasturage. A road was once contemplated across these mountains to Virginia. It would have shortened the journey about 200 miles; but the difficulty of the rough country caused it to be abandoned. It has been said, but I cannot vouch for it, that a colony of 400 people set out in a large party from the canton of Appenzell and embarked at Basle, a few years before the Revolution [i. e., the Swiss Revolution] and settled in this country, where they became shepherds as in their own country, and they have done well. The details of their emigration can be found in the "*Melanges Helvetiques*."

The lands along the *Salt* river are low, marshy, unproductive, and subject to floods; besides they are subject to fevers and unhealthy.

Those traversed by the *Cumberland* are very stony and sterile; so they are tilled in only a few places.

The borders of the *Green* river are much exposed to floods. As it flows almost at a right angle into the *Ohio*, it happens in the month of April (that is when the *Ohio* begins to rise) it is re-flooded. This results not only in the destruction of the farms by the breaking of the dykes, but the air for several months of the year is charged with mephitic vapors, and in consequence very unhealthy. This is the more unfortunate for these lands are very fertile.

It remains for me to speak of the river *Elkhorn*. As for it there is little to say. The lands which it waters are fertile and beautiful beyond conception; the air is pure and serene almost the whole year; the farms are already so close together that it seems like a continuous village; the black vegetable soil is five or six feet deep. There is no kind of grain, fruit, or vegetable not produced there; they raise a great deal of cotton, and the hemp is fine and quite equal to that of the kingdom of Naples.

This seems enough for understanding that it is not sufficient to go to Kentucky; it is necessary to know what parts are worth going to and what lands are worth working.

Various things in that country deserve the attention of naturalists and antiquaries. There are lead mines on the banks of the

Big Kanhawa opposite the Cripple River. It is sometimes found mixed with earth, [placers?] but more commonly encased in a rock so hard that gunpowder is necessary to get it out. It is always found combined with silver, but in such small quantity that it does not pay to separate. The ore is rich, 60 or 80 to the 100, [?] so that it is very profitable. The veins begin at the surface of the mountain side and extend horizontally inward. Two tunnels have been driven, each about 100 verges [vergee equals about a rood] long. As yet there are only thirty miners employed and they work part of the year on the farms. This mine can supply sixty tons of lead a year. The furnaces are located a mile from the mouth of the tunnels, on the other side of the river—a bad location that will be changed later.

There are iron mines along the Muskingum and Ohio, and others on the Kentucky. Still this metal, most precious because of its general utility, is what is most lacking in America. As for what is called the Banks of Iron [*bancs de fer*] on the Mississippi, we have it on good authority that they do not contain a trace.

Mines of coal are so common in the country that it is believed that a great bed of it underlies the whole surface. Those worked at Pittsburg are considered the best.

Copperas and alum are not rare. Emeralds, amethysts, and crystals are sometimes found but not enough to become an object of trade.

As for fossils they are very common. They are found on the banks of the Kentucky in large beds, composed of petrified oysters, but of a totally different species from those we know. Others are found in South America on the summit of the Andes, that is to say, 15,000 feet above the sea-level.

In digging near Lexington they have uncovered old graves, arranged with much skill, and in a very different manner from that of the Indians. They were filled with human bones. A resident of the same city while digging on his premises found a flat stone, six feet below the surface, that covered a well, of which the sides were solid masonry, that was not made by the natives of the country. The inference is drawn that this country was sometime inhabited by a civilized race and that it has disappeared without leaving any memorial of its residence on the earth. There is also another fact that points to the same opinion. There are found in Kentucky many forts that attract the attention of the curious and have given rise to many conjectures. They are usually circular in form, placed in the best lands and always on the bank of a river. When, by whom, and for what purpose were they built? Of this we are ignorant; we only know that they are ancient forts, and that they precede by several centuries the discovery of America, since the trees that are growing today in their inclosures are as old as in the rest of the country. The Indians have lost for generations all notion of their origin. Yet every one knows with what accuracy the tribes of savages transmit from father to son, by tradition, the remembrance of everything that has taken place in their land. The old women especially have an astonishing memory. It is they who recite word for word every sentence of a treaty made two hundred years before. In the popular assemblies it is customary to refer to them as we would refer to our archives. They are placed behind the warriors.

When they wish some light on a document or historic deed, the chief turns to one of the most aged and says: "Woman, rise and relate our history of bygone times." She speaks as if she read from a book. All that she says is authoritative.

However, these forts have been built with so much strength and with such correct notions of architecture, that they are necessarily the work of a people different from the Indians. Besides, it seems impossible to have built them without the use of tools of iron; and iron was unknown in America before the arrival of the Europeans. At some distance from each of them is a small elevation in the form of a pyramid. By digging in them a chalky substance is found which on analysis appears to be the remains of human bones. They have lain there perhaps thousands of generations [*milliers de siècles.*]

The cliffs that border the Kentucky river show to the eye perpendicular rocks 400 feet high. They are formed of alternate and very regular layers of limestone and white marble. The river below seems to flow through artificial canals. Its sides are shaded with red cedars.

In several places there are very large caverns, which are often several miles deep; they are in the limestone rock, supported by vaults and columns fashioned by the hand of nature. There are also sulphur springs, one of the most remarkable being near Boonesboro.

On the banks of the Green river there are three bituminous springs or wells. The inhabitants use it in their lamps and burn it instead of oil. Near the Sandy river there is a little crater or natural cavity that constantly exhales a gas or inflammable air; when one brings a lighted candle eighteen inches from the opening it ignites and forms a column of flame twelve inches in diameter and four or five feet high, shaped like a cone, its base resting on the hole and its point in the air. General Clarke, who discovered it, lighted it and waited an hour watching the flame and left before it was extinguished. This is not the only place of its kind. There is another exactly similar, which shows the same phenomena seven miles below the mouth of the Elk river, which empties into the Big Kenhawa. These flames resemble burning alcohol; they are much rarified, slightly heated and have a strong odor of coal. Sometimes the cavity fills with water, but it is soon heated to the boiling point and evaporates.

Kentucky was at first subject to the government of Virginia, and was under the same administration. The distance between the two and the rapid increase of population soon caused a feeling of discontent with the Union. It resulted in the State of Virginia at the session of 1786 passing an act declaring the independence of Kentucky. It today forms one of the states of the general federation and is governed by its own laws. All the information that I have been able to secure on this latter subject goes to show that nowhere else are the taxes more just nor justice better administered. Each citizen there enjoys, under the law, the greatest portion of civil liberty of which man is susceptible in a state of society.

Scarcely had the settlements been begun when the new colonists began to take up seriously the work of religion and education. The most numerous sect is the Baptist; in the year 1786 they had six-

teen churches, with regular ministers and well endowed. Their synod was composed of more than thirty ministers or teachers. Besides that we find there reformed congregations, Lutherans, Catholics, and even some Jews. All these religions are protected by the law and their adherents live together in perfect harmony.

As for the education of youth, they have established in each place of any size primary schools provided with good teachers. Their children learn to read and write as well as the four rules of arithmetic and the principles of their religion. Beyond that they have for those who wish to take more advanced studies a good college at Lexington. The State of Virginia laid the foundation of that useful institution and endowed it amply by a cession of land. The Rev. John Todd made it a present of a large library. They afterward added a press and even print each week a gazette that goes each week to even the most distant farms with all the news of both the old and new world.

I ought to sketch the general character of the inhabitants, but that is very difficult, as it is an amalgamation of the people of all countries, all kinds, all conditions; it has no national characteristic, and indeed presents a singular mixture in their language, manners, customs and amusements, and even in their political opinions. There is one thing, however, that is peculiar to them and very characteristic. In the other settlements that have been made very few have come in except mechanics, laborers, and journeymen, all poor people and of an inferior class. In Kentucky, on the contrary, we find many persons who have an education, literary knowledge, agreeable manners, and a modest fortune. The one class has gone there from a distaste for large cities, the other to escape political persecution, and some others because they were not content with the new regime established in their own country. All these people became farmers and brought up their children to the same occupation and they form an eminently respectable class. In many places you find regular assemblies, clubs and other appropriate amusements for the people. Rides, on horseback or in carriages, friendly visits, numerous dinners, little suppers, picnics for the youth, there is nothing lacking to these people. Several have libraries on their farms; they cultivate music, literature and art. The young farmer's daughter, under the white linen gown that covers her, often conceals a refined and cultivated mind. One can see in this country the best civilization of Europe.

The banks of the Ohio recall to me a horrible adventure, and I am going to give it. It will serve to give the reader an idea of a vigorous scene [*site énergique*] and of the eloquence of the Indians. In the spring of 1774 a planter was murdered by two Shawnee Indians. The neighbors, following their custom, resolved to take immediate vengeance. Col. Cresap, a man become infamous by his numerous assassinations, assembled some bandits and proceeded to the mouth of the Kanhawa, resolved to kill the first Indians that they saw. Unfortunately a canoe that carried some women and children and a single oarsman put out from the other side of the river, little suspecting a hostile attack. Cresap and his companions were hidden in the reeds. Then as the canoe passed they fired a general volley. All in the canoe were killed. They were the wives

and children, in a word the whole family of Logan, chief of a tribe of Indians, a respectable man and known throughout the land for his attachment to the whites. Enraged by such an attack, he armed his tribe and sought vengeance. It resulted in a war that was carried on with a barbarity characteristic of the country. The unfortunate father, always in the first rank, distinguished himself in all engagements. In the end he fought about the close of the year a decisive battle at the mouth of the Big Kanhawa. The united tribes of the Shawnese, Mingoes and Delawares fought the militia of Virginia and were defeated. The enfeebled Indians asked for peace. Logan disdained to appear among the suppliants. However in order that no one should doubt that he concurred in a course so absolutely necessary he wrote to Lord Dunmore the following letter:

"I appeal to any white man to say if ever he entered Logan's cabin hungry, and he gave him not meat; if ever he came cold and naked and he clothed him not. During the course of the last long and bloody war Logan remained idle in his cabin, an advocate of peace. Such was my love for the whites that my countrymen pointed as they passed and said: 'Logan is the friend of the white men'. I had even thought to have lived with you but for the injuries of one man. Col. Cresap the last spring, in cold blood and unprovoked, murdered all the relations of Logan, not even sparing my women and children. There runs not a drop of my blood in the veins of any living creature. This called on me for revenge. I have sought it; I have killed many; I have fully glutted my vengeance. For my country I rejoice at the beams of peace. But do not harbor a thought that mine is the joy of fear; Logan never felt fear. He will not turn on his heel to save his life. Who is there to mourn for Logan? Not one."¹

To the particulars that I have given about this country I will add that I do not believe that is exactly the place where new colonists, at least those who have money, ought to go; and for the following reasons:

1°. The climate is too warm for our countrymen, at least unless they go to the higher places where the temperature is more like Vaud. Arriving under this burning climate and where the changes from heat to cold are very sudden, they are subject to pleurisy and putrid fevers that take them off very quickly. These maladies are in addition to those that affect all farmers in a newly cleared country. There the earth, which before was covered with a thick shade, becomes heated with the warm sun, ferments and throws off a mephitic gas. It is that which causes malignant and intermittent fevers. Further the wind, stopped by the forest, rushes into the clearings and blowing a gale produces a change from very hot to extreme cold, and that in a quarter of an hour. This second cause combined with the first increases the amount of illness.

It is true that when these lands are once under cultivation and covered with vegetation and fruit trees they quickly recover their

1. This familiar extract is from the so-called speech of the Indian chief Tah-gah-jute, known in history as Logan. First published in Jefferson's "Notes on Virginia," it was probably put into its long-famous form, if not wholly written, by the author of that work.—*Ed.*

original salubrity, for every one knows that leaves have the property of sucking up the nitrogen and throwing off what we call vital air. Besides cultivation secures the drainage of stagnant water and marshes and this adds in making the climate healthy. Such is the course of nature. Here follow some observations made at Philadelphia. They all go to show that the farmer receives the country salubrious and bountiful from the hand of nature, that he corrupts it by cutting, and can only restore its salubrity by intelligent cultivation. This work was written by an inhabitant of the country, and entitled: "Inquiry into the causes of the increase of Fevers in Pennsylvania."

"As for the yellow fever that has caused such ravages in America, it is a species of complicated billious fever, and of a nature that is not thoroughly understood at present. Generally it has been cured by the use of wine and tonics. It is common in cities and also at the seaside, but as yet it is very little known in the country. It would be well if one could say as much about those diseases of the bowels accompanied by convulsions which appear in many places, and notably in Pennsylvania, in great part among children under ten years of age."

2°. The lands of the first class are rare in Kentucky. They cost at the present time seven to ten pounds sterling per acre [\$35.00 to \$50.00]; and one can scarcely acquire them on time, for the proprietors, who have bought them for speculation, do not accord new-comers the credit and facilities they receive elsewhere. As to the lands of inferior quality, they are not worth, it seems, to use the pains of going so far to clear them.

3°. The new settler ought to work himself, though it may require his passing a number of years of hardship. It is true that he can buy slaves but they are very dear and that kind of labor is repugnant to a thoughtful man. They can also be hired for 100 to 150 piastres a year and their board; but that method has great objections. They will desert and escape whenever they get the chance; and it is necessary to pursue and to follow them into the depths of the forest, and on returning home to find, may be, his farm devastated and his crop destroyed by the flocks of his neighbours. Families of poor and industrious farmers will find in my estimation it is more advantageous to go to another country equally fertile but a little farther north, and much less populous. In consequence they will prefer to go to the settlements being made in the Genesee. I will give an idea of its topography as I have in regard to Kentucky.

Those who wish to go there ought to go by way of Holland. There they can embark in an American ship that will take them to New York.

TABLE OF PRICES

that are actually paid for passage from Holland to America. They can be paid in advance on embarking or on arrival in America.

In the second cabin:

For children under 4 years.....	0	guineas.
From 4 to 14 years.....	6½	guineas.
14 years and upwards.....	13	guineas.

In the first cabin:

For children under 4 years.....	0	guineas.
From 4 to 14 years.....	7½	guineas.
14 years and upwards.....	15	guineas.

Beyond the passage one receives gratis from the captain for rations for each person per week: 2 pounds of meat, 1 pound of lard, 1 pound of butter, 1 pound of cheese, 6 pounds of bread. Further a portion of potatoes, oat-meal, peas, flour, and vinegar; and for drink, beer and gin, or whiskey.

It is dangerous to start without having enough to pay the passage, and agreeing to pay it in America. In that case what happens on arrival? When a ship arrives from Europe with emigrants the American farmers or their emissaries go aboard and offer passengers to pay what they owe the captain, on condition that they will work for them as servants or laborers until they can repay the principal and interest. This offer at first glance is very enticing but is subject to a thousand abuses. The new arrival is conducted far into the interior, often to absolutely unimproved land; he is paid wages lower than he could earn, he is employed in the most difficult work, cheated in his food, interest, and even the principal in order to prolong this voluntary slavery.

I repeat that no mechanic, peasant or laborer should start for America until he has money enough, not only to pay his passage, but to enable him to live some time without depending on strangers. Emigrants, listen to my advice! It is a friend of the people who speaks to you.

From New York they can go up the Hudson River in boats to Albany at small expense, and even twenty-four leagues farther into the interior; from there to the frontiers of Genesee there are only some thirty leagues to be made by land. Along this route are hamlets and single farms where one can get food and lodging.

There is another route which, starting from New York and skirting Pennsylvania, makes for the source of the Delaware. It is a journey of about sixty leagues. Arriving at this point one must cross the Allegheny Mountains, which are narrow and not very high at this place, but as they are not settled, provisions must be carried. This second route is much more difficult and expensive. It will be found much better to travel by the first route, and besides the sail up the Hudson is very pleasant. This river, one of the largest and most beautiful in the United States, rises in the mountains between Lake Ontario and Lake Champlain; it is 250 miles long and empties into the sea a little below New York; its shores are lined with cliffs that are very picturesque. The part of its course through the Highlands for about sixteen miles is a series of imposing and romantic views. In this narrow pass, the wind, and there it is always blowing, is throttled and blows without interruption as if it came from a bellows. Boats are then obliged to lower their sails; nevertheless they do not run any danger. What is most peculiar about this river is that it winds through these mountains and yet has no falls, or rapids, or rocks; its channel is everywhere wide and deep, and its surface as smooth as the Saone at Lyons; this

leads to the supposition that its channel was formed suddenly by some great convulsion of nature.

However that may be, the fact that it is without rapids or rock makes navigation easy either in ascending or descending. In the former case one is assisted by the tide, which runs up as far as Albany, that is, 160 miles into the interior. It is so filled with fish that many people from New York take the trip to Albany solely for the pleasure of fishing with a line during the passage.

The colonist need not carry from New York the things he will afterward need, such as beds and farming implements; he will be able to buy them at Albany at the same or possibly lower prices than in New York. Albany is a city of about 600 houses, built in the old gothic style, and precisely as the Dutch that founded it built two hundred years ago. Usually they have only one story and few rooms, but the interior is extremely neat. One might imagine himself in Holland. There are about 4,000 inhabitants. As it is a collection of families from all parts of the world, they speak all languages, a fact that is very convenient for new colonists just arriving from Europe. There is a large trade in grain, flour, hemp, flax, butter, cheese, lumber, etc., because it is the natural entrepot of the farm products. It is also well situated for trade with Canada and in furs.

It is said that the Albanians are less sociable and less hospitable than the inhabitants of other cities in America. I do not know how much foundation there is for this reproach. In general they take little pleasure in small coteries. They love to frequent the taverns especially where there is dancing. People of easy circumstances go to dinner and never fail to return in the evening. They occupy themselves with games of cards, chess, billiards, and drinking even far into the night. When they marry they do so almost without witnesses and secretly, as it were, but the day after the wedding the groom prepares a collation of cold meats, wine, etc., and invites all his friends and acquaintances, who never fail to attend, at eleven in the morning. A leader invested with full power is chosen to preside at each table; it is he who indicates the number of toasts, and it is rare that they separate without being drunk; for the Albanians, who are usually sober enough, do not think it shameful to drink to excess on such occasions.

Their funerals are also rather peculiar but they are said to be the same as they were of old in this country. No one is present without a formal invitation at the appointed time. The procession goes to a neighboring house and waits until they bring the body of the deceased. Ten persons are appointed to carry the bier, the others accompany the procession according to rank, that has been assigned to them by the leader. They go to the cemetery and return to the house of the deceased. There they find tables arrayed with cold meat, spiced wine, pipes and tobacco. They eat, drink and smoke; conversation turns upon every subject except the friend they have lost, of whom no one says a word. The women, unless they be very near kindred, do not take part in the procession. Such are the customs and manners of that country. I have gone into these details, though they may appear irrelevant to the subject of this book, because the colonists who go to the settlements in Genesee have

their general rendezvous at Albany; they will not be displeased to have some information about that city.

Genesee is situated near the 42d degree of north latitude. It is thus three degrees further south than the country of Vaud. Notwithstanding the climate is the same, because those countries that are uncultivated and covered with forests are always colder than countries that are cultivated. It is bounded on the east by a range of mountains that separate it from Pennsylvania; at the west it extends to the shores of Lakes Erie and Ontario. From these lakes the land slopes gradually. However the appearance is the same as Kentucky; that is to say, the country is a combination of hills and valleys slightly inclined. The winter begins the middle of December and ends the middle of March. The earth is covered with snow for four or five weeks. The small rivers freeze over but the large ones rarely do. The land is very fertile and capable of producing an abundance of all kinds of grain, fruit and vegetables. The author of an anonymous pamphlet written in English that appeared a short time since states that no one would dare to portray *au naturel* the luxuriant vegetation and richness of the soil, without fear of being taxed with exaggeration. Col. Gordon¹ states the same thing in the journal of his travels. Gen. Parsons measured at one place a walnut tree that was twenty-two feet in circumference, and near that a sycamore that was forty-four. Lately some one brought to Amsterdam a sheaf of hay gathered at random in the forest which was four and a half feet high and of excellent quality.

There is another fact that tends to confirm these statements. It was written to me the past month by a correspondent, whose veracity I can guarantee. Two families of settlers were crossing that country with the design of going to settle on the banks of the Ohio. They camped by chance in a place that was charmingly situated. It was a small natural prairie, surrounded with trees and through which wound a brook. "Why should we go farther," they said to one another; "let us settle here." And they did settle there regardless of the fact that they did not own the land. The following year, fearful that they might be expelled from a place that they had cultivated without a title, they sought out the proprietor, told him what had happened and begged that he would sell it to them. As he had not bought it for speculation, but with the intention of occupying it later, he did not wish either to evict them, as he had the right to do, or to make them lose the reward of their labor. He sold each family 200 acres at the price of two and one-half piastres [per acre?].

1. I do not find any printed title of a Journal of Col. Gordon. Pownall in the "Topog. Desc.," Appendix IV, gives some extracts from a "Journal of Capt. Harry Gordon, Chief Engineer in the Western Department in North America, who was sent from Fort Pitt on the river Ohio down the said river, etc., to Illinois in 1766." Hanna's "Wilderness Trail," II., 40, also has extracts. This is the only Gordon Journal which I note printed before the date of Bridel's book. As this does not refer to Western New York it is not likely to be the journal referred to by Bridel. The original MS. of Capt. Harry Gordon's Journal is in the Historical Society of Penna.—Tr.

With their minds at rest about their property they continued to cultivate it, and have prospered and possess now two fine farms.

In its natural state Genesee is covered with forests like Kentucky. But there is this difference; in the latter the thickets are very frequent and the trees are very close together, so that much time is required to clear and improve the land and put it under cultivation. Here, on the contrary, there are found spaces of several miles denuded of trees and forming often natural prairies; and in the places where there are trees they are so far apart that one man can clear an acre in a day. This advantage is enormous when one is working to make a new settlement; a man can plant almost as soon as he arrives, and can employ in plowing the time that would be consumed elsewhere in cutting the trees, digging up the roots and carrying them away. The forests are set with firs, oaks, birches, elms, cherries, apples, mulberries, walnuts, chestnuts, etc. The sugar maple is also common; the sap from only one tree furnishes about ten pounds of sugar per year; there is no planting to be done; one has only to gather it for his use. Another tree peculiar to this country is the sumac. It bears clusters of red fruit that is sought for dyeing. The Indians chew its leaves instead of tobacco.

No other part of America has so much game. One encounters at almost every step herds of deer, elk and buffalo. Bears are not rare but they quickly leave the country when it begins to be settled. Turkeys, wild geese, teals, ducks, swans, pheasants, and partridges are so common and so tame that they might be taken for chickens in a poultry yard. What is very singular is that there are no hares; rabbits, on the contrary, are common. Here are some of the other animals peculiar to the country:

1°. *The Caribou*. It is a species of small deer. It can run on the snow with great swiftmess; as its hoofs are large and hairy they do not sink down easily. When the snow is deep they make paths as if they were made by man.

2°. *The Caracajou*. It is a voracious animal but sluggish; it walks very slowly and it supplies this defect by cunning. A great enemy of the carabou, it lies in wait for it along the fresh trails; at other times it hides in the branches of the trees [over the trail, Tr.] and waits for its prey to pass. As soon as it springs upon it it seizes the caribou by the throat and tears it. The only way it can escape is to plunge into the water. The caracajou fears that element so much that it will leave its prey. The animal is so cunning that when trappers have set their traps it finds a way to spring them and eat the bait without danger. It disturbs the beavers very much in their houses.¹

1. The animal referred to here as the caracajou is the wolverene, *Gulo luscus*. It is known by several names, *glutton* being one of the most common. Caracajou is the French-Canadian name. It was at one time found as far south as New York, but now exists only in the wildest parts of Canada. It has a bad reputation with trappers for the reason given in the text. The story of its lying on the branches of trees and springing thence on deer or caribou passing underneath is probably fabulous and comes from its being sometimes confounded with panthers, etc. Probably no other animal has had as many fabulous tales told about it as the wolverene.—Tr.

3°. *The Skunk*. This is the most extraordinary animal in the forests of America. It is a species of mink,¹ with which it is often confounded. When it is followed it throws from its breech a stinking water that infects the air for a great distance. It is for this reason that the French call it *bête puante*, or *enfant du diable*. Some naturalists have supposed that this water was only its urine. But Mr. Carver, who dissected several of them, asserts that he found near the bladder a special organ for it, of which he was convinced by its abominable odor. However, the flesh of the skunk, when it is not soiled with this fetid water, is delicate and good to eat. Its fat applied externally is a powerful emolient.

In digging in the earth in Genesee and adjacent countries teeth and bones of a prodigious size are frequently found. They belong to a carnivorous animal which once existed there, but which has disappeared. It is called the Mammoth. The Indians have a singular tradition about it. They say that "In olden times a herd of these great animals came to Bigbone, where they began a general slaughter of the deer, elk, bison, and other beasts that the Great Man (God) had created for food for the Indians. The Great Man looked from on high and saw it. Immediately he took his thunderbolts and descended to the earth and placed himself on the summit of a high mountain, upon a rock, where the imprint of his feet may still be seen. From there he hurled thunderbolts at these animals until he had entirely destroyed them. Only the chief of the herd remained. He reared his head proudly against the Great Man and repelled with his brow the thunderbolts thrown at him. Once he missed a blow and was wounded in the side. He instantly felt the effect of the blow and turning around with a bound he threw himself across the Great Lakes, where he still lives." It cannot be determined if the mammoth once lived in these wilds or if that part of the story is as fabulous as the rest.

European naturalists have claimed that these great bones belonged to elephants or hippopotami; but Mr. Jefferson has offered some proof they did not and that they belonged to a particular species of *carnivores*, which were four or five times larger than the elephant. However the question will be easily decided, if it is true, as I have lately read in a journal that some one had collected all the bones of this animal and was restoring a skeleton that can be seen in the Cabinet of Natural History in New York. Mr. Jefferson, as I have said, and Mr. Hunner (see Trans. Philos. of 1768) are of the opinion that these bones are the remains of a carnivorous animal. The author of the article *America* in the Encyclopedic Dictionary has the opposite opinion, and here are his reasons: "If this animal were carnivorous it would mean that nature had followed in the New World a course opposite to that followed on our continent where all land animals of the largest size are *frugivores*. It is an error on the part of Prosper-McAlpin and of Mr. Maillet of having believed that the hippopotamus is carnivorous. It can be imagined what difficulty carnivorous animals of this size would have

1. Literally, *Putois*. The genus *Putorious* to which belong the minks, weasels, etc., is a division of the family *Mustilidae*. Of this family the skunks form a sub-family, *Mephitinae*.—Tr.

in finding a sufficient and continuous supply of food; which vegetation being so reproductive and in such abundance that it is quite sufficient to supply food for animals of the largest size. Thus the opinion of those who attribute these remains to a species of flesh eaters is hardly tenable. It is in vain that we have gone to the savages to know what they think, since the discovery of them in 1738. They have not given any better account than the natives of Siberia on the discovery of fossil ivory in their country; for the one regards them as the remains of a giant and the other as the remains of an animal that lives under the earth." This reasoning, though very plausible at first glance, is full of errors.

1°. It does not follow that because nature has done such and such a thing on our continent that she has done it everywhere. One can more easily conclude the contrary, for in America there are several animals absolutely different from any found in other parts of the world, among others the Opossum, the Raccoon, and the Quickhatch [another name for the Wolverine, Tr.].

2°. The size signifies nothing in this matter; the whale, larger than the elephant and any other known animal, is carnivorous. It eats every day several thousand herrings.

3°. The author says that the Indians have no traditions on this subject. They have a very positive one, and that we have given.

4°. The facts seem to show that the animal to which these teeth belong could only have been carnivorous. How can people oppose facts with purely scientific reasoning?

As for me I believe that a monstrous carnivorous animal has existed not only in America but also in the north of Asia and even more south. The fossil bones found in Siberia may belong to it, and see this report of a journalist this month: "One hears from Hamburg that they have found on the banks of the Mologa, in the government of Juroslaw in Russia, two horns, a head and some bones belonging to an unknown animal of huge proportions. The length of the head is two and a quarter Leipsic ells [about 51.3 inches]. The thickness [or depth] of the forehead was an ell and two inches. The horns resembled in form that of an ox, they were four ells long, and nearly one in circumference. The other bones are equally gigantic."

The principal rivers of Genesee are:

1°. The *Genesee*. It gives its name to the whole country; its direction is from south to north and it flows into Lake Ontario eighty miles from the falls of Niagara.

2°. The *Allegheny*. It takes its rise in the mountains of the same name very near the source of the Tioga; its direction is west. It unites at Fort Pitt with the Monongahela to form the Ohio, as we have heretofore stated.

3°. The *Tonnewonta*. It runs from east to west in nearly a straight line and empties into the Niagara, which forms the communication between Lakes Erie and Ontario. Near its source is the new Batavia, one of the principal settlements of this country.

The *Buffalo* and the *Cattaraugus* are two other rivers that also run from east to west and empty into Lake Erie. At the mouth of

the former is situated New Amsterdam,¹ where there have been established some mills and factories. The new colonists, who are carpenters, joiners, wood workers in general, go there to settle by preference. The place where it stands was a forest five years ago.

The rivers are full of fish. They abound in perch, trout, salmon and catfish—a species unknown in Europe and extremely delicate. They have been taken weighing forty pounds. Each of them receives in its course a multitude of brooks, for there is no country in the world as well watered as this. One can judge of this by an inspection of the map, which has been drawn with all the accuracy possible. Nevertheless there are neither marshes nor stagnant waters, and this makes the air very healthy. Fevers are not prevalent as in Kentucky and besides one is not annoyed there as elsewhere by mosquitoes. These brooks are not torrents, sometimes flooded and sometimes dry and subject to inundations. They are threads of clear, limpid water that wind through the fields, watering and fertilizing them. Also the new settlers can procure without trouble excellent prairies, and they are mowed regularly three times a year to provide for their cattle in winter, for in summer they find everywhere abundant feed.

Before the last war in America Genesee was occupied by several tribes of very powerful Indians. Today the savages are there only in small numbers. Here is a census of them:

1°. *The Oneidas*. They live along a river of that name twenty-one miles from Fort Stanwix. They are about 400 strong, including the women and children.

2°. *The Tuscaroras*. They lived at one time in Carolina and Virginia. Today they live with the Oneidas, who have adopted them; judging from the similarity of language they had a common origin. Their number is about 200 persons.

3°. *The Senecas*. They live on the banks of the Genesee River. This tribe is about 800 strong. Their chief town is called Genesee Castle. They have depending on them two villages, each of 60 or 70 persons; one is on French Creek, the other on the Buffalo. They also have some cabins on the Allegheny River. Their chief is a very respectable man called OBeil.² He has great regard for the whites and is eager to do them a service.

4°. *The Onondagas*. They live on the banks of a lake of the same name, twenty-five miles from Lake Oneida. In the spring of

1. This is perhaps the earliest allusion to Buffalo, after the Holland Land Co.'s survey, to be found in any book. The Duke de la Rochefoucault Liancourt, who was on the Niagara in 1795, gives the earliest description of the settlement (of whites) on Buffalo creek: "We reached Lake Erie, that is to say, a small settlement of four or five houses, standing about a quarter of a mile from the lake." The Indian village of Buffalo Town was four miles distant. He speaks of the high cost of everything here, and adds: "There is scarcely one house in this little hamlet, without a person indisposed with the ague." Isaac Weld came to Buffalo creek in 1796, but only mentions the village. The narratives of surveyors who visited the site of Buffalo before the date of Pastor Bridel's book are to be found in vol. VII, Publications of the Buffalo Historical Society.

2. John O'Bail, otherwise Cornplanter.

1779 Gen. Clinton sent a regiment against them, because they had made some incursions upon his land. This regiment surprised them at their homes and killed twelve men and took thirty-five prisoners and returned to join the army without having sustained any loss.

5°. The *Five Nations*. This was at one time a very powerful people. They lived near the source of the Susquehanna. But in the year 1779 General Sullivan at the head of an army of 4,000 men drove them from their country and forced them as far as the Niagara river. Obligated, in order to live, to eat salt meat, to which they had not been accustomed, a great part of them died.¹ There are as many as 200 buried in the same ditch near the place where they had camped. From that time they abandoned their own country and retired to Canada.

These few Indians, dispersed over a great extent of country, do not annoy the settlers, and they live with them in good fellowship. On one side the planters furnish them their living when they are in need and buy their furs. On the other side they are restrained either by the inhabitants of the country, who are more numerous, or by the garrisons that the United States keep in the frontier forts. They do not live solely by the chase; the women, when they are absent, cultivate potatoes and maize. Gradually they are giving up a wandering life to become planters. Some have renounced their idolatry and been baptized. This species of man in a short time will melt away in the new colonies.

It is the more easy to convert them to Christianity, as they have an idea of the immortality of the soul. They believe that after their death they will be carried to a country, which they place at the west, filled with game and where they will become eternal hunters. Before interring the dead, the principal orator of the tribe speaks to it as follows: "Behold thee seated with us. Thou hast the same form that we have; there is nothing lacking, neither hands, nor head, nor legs; however thou hast ceased to be, and thou hast begun to evaporate like the smoke from this pipe. Who was it that we talked to two days ago? It was not thou for then thou didst talk to us. It must be then that it was thy soul which is at present in the great land of souls with those of our race. Thy body that we see here will be in six months as it was 200 years ago. Thou canst feel nothing, thou canst hear nothing; however because of the friendship that we bore for thy body when the spirit animated it we can give thee these marks of respect." I will end this article by a discourse that an Indian chief addressed to Sir William Johnson, superintendent of [Indian] affairs of America, on the occasion of a treaty that he signed in 1768 with the Six Nations. "We recall that at our first interview with you when you arrived in your ships, we received you with friendship, provided for your welfare and made an alliance with you; also we were a people great and numerous, and you a people weak and powerless. We soon saw that we were attached to you by a chain of bark, and that it was with so weak a

1. This sounds so much like an "Irish bull" that I give the original: "*Obligés pour vivre de manger de la viande salée, à laquelle ils n'étoient point accoutumés, ils moururent en grande partie.*"—Tr.

chain that we had moored your ships; fearing that it would break and that your ships would be lost we changed it for one of iron, with which we attached them strongly; but as it was likely to rust away, in order to prevent an accident so melancholy, we replace it today with one of silver." Such a singular allegory! Every reader will comprehend it.

The Genesee having been put at the disposition of the United States of America they have sold, some to individuals, and some to companies. The Dutch, known under the name of the Holland Land Company, has alone bought a million acres of it. It is engaged at this moment in getting settlers and putting the land under cultivation. One cannot admire too much the order, the wisdom, and the humanity with which they go about this important work. The land does not as elsewhere pass through the hands of three different sorts of planters; one does so well that those who clear find it to their advantage to live there and do not quit it. Besides they do not lease land but sell it and at a very moderate price. They have made a survey of the country and have published a geographic map. It is the one that we have added at the end of this work. They continue to employ surveyors, who measure precisely the land bought by the colonist, and fix the boundaries and furnish them plans. Further, they open roads, construct bridges, clear out the rivers and build mills and factories. Its principal office is at Batavia, near the source of the Tonnewonta. It is under the direction of Mr. Bussi [Busti]. The postmaster of New York, seeing the prosperity of this country continually increase has established post stages [*? relais*] and conducts strangers through to this place. There is a second office at New Amsterdam near Lake Erie. Mr. Ellicott, agent of the company, an educated man who speaks many languages, resides there.

It is hard to say exactly how many colonists have settled on the domain of the Holland Land Company, because they are arriving each week, yet it is less than the whole of Genesee (there it amounted in three years to 20,000). They come from all parts of the world. The Westphalians, the Irish, the Liegeois, arrive by hundreds. Lord Selkirk has sent over many Scotch and continues to add to them all the families of poor farmers he finds in his neighborhood. Some one has made representations to Parliament about it; it will use means, without doubt, to put a stop to this emigration. Perhaps, too, it will find that it is unjust and even tyrannical to prevent poor people, burdened with children and without land, to seek in America bread which they cannot gain in their own country at the price of their sweat and their tears. Certainly if they could find around the village where they were born, excellent land at two or three piastres an acre, these people would not care to leave. It requires a great motive for a man to renounce his country, sever his connections, and break off his habits; then to cross a vast ocean in order to settle in an unknown land. Oh, power of paternal love, pure and sacred fire lighted by the hand of the Creator who has put these children into the world! Oh, noble and just desire to wrest one's family from misery, you alone are able to produce that sublime resolve and cause it to carry out so difficult a project! Poor emigrants, I have often mingled my tears with yours in the ungrate-

ful earth that you have watered with your sweat! Now my prayers accompany you to the New World.

It is said that in the last three months there have been delivered at Berne 300 passports to people of our country. I hope that they have been well enough advised to give the preference to Genesee over any other part of America.¹ However, it seems unlikely, judging from the following letter: "Basle, 8th March, 1803. The 5th of this month we witnessed a spectacle very sad for our country and its public credit. Eighty families from the single canton of Basle, which is not one of the large cantons of Switzerland, have started on two large boats and will follow the course of the Rhine to Holland, where they will embark for America. These families have sold all they possess and carry with them a very considerable sum. They have taken letters of credit on Amsterdam, several of which are for 16,000 francs [about \$3,200.00]. They take also various articles required in their settlement which they will make in the vast wilds of Kentucky. At their departure they sang in chorus some sacred hymns. At that sight all hearts were melted to tears."

Genesee will be populated about as soon as Kentucky, for it is not only very fit for agriculture, but it is more advantageously located for trade. At the west by means of the Great Lakes it can trade with the Indians for furs; at the south it can ship grain by the Allegheny river to New Orleans; at the north they can ship by the river Hudson what should go to New York; at the east it borders on Pennsylvania and they will there find means to supply the markets of Philadelphia. It is thus at a central point, perfectly located for commerce. They are at this moment thinking of starting a town at the place where the Oswaiga joins the Allegheny; several Swiss families form the nucleus of this association.

When this country is settled it will form an independent state. Now it is a part of New York and is governed by the same laws. The colonists live therefore under a government most wisely calculated and best adapted for the true happiness of man. What are its fundamental principles? The legislative power is divided into two houses, the Senate and the Assembly. The Senators are chosen by freeholders or owners of land. To be a voter it is necessary to possess real estate free from debt to the value of 100 pounds sterling. The State is divided into four districts, of which the southern names nine senators, the middle six, the western six, and the eastern only three. These numbers are fixed by the relative population.

The Assembly is composed of representatives of all the counties. They are elected each year in the month of May in the following proportions;

The City and County of New York names.....	9
The City and County of Albany.....	7
Dutchess	7

1. During the printing of this work my hopes are realized. Fifty persons of that emigration have given preference to Genesee and have asked the Holland Co. for letters to Mr. Bussi [Busti], its agent in that country.—*Note in original.*

West Chester	6
Ulster	6
Suffolk	5
Queens	4
Orange	4
Kings	2
Richmond	2
Montgomery	6
Washington and Clinton	4
Columbia	3
Cumberland	3
Gloucester	2
<hr/>	
Total Assemblymen	70

N. B. The whole State in 1786 contained 238,897 inhabitants; today it has many more.

All men of full age who have resided in the county where they cast their votes six months before the election, who pay taxes, who have land to the value of twenty pounds sterling, or who work land of which the rental is two pounds sterling are electors for the Assembly.

The executive power is placed in the hands of the Governor. He is chosen for three years. At the end of that period he may be re-elected. All freeholders of the State take part in his election. He is truly a man of the people. This government is quite analogous to what was introduced into a few of our cantons; after four years of blunders, vacillation and trouble we have returned to it only to follow the advice I gave my countrymen in February, 1800. See my work entitled: "Reflexion sur la revolution de la Suisse, sur le principe de l'unité et de l'indivisibilité et de la nécessité d'un revenir au systeme federatif," page 44 and elsewhere.

As to the taxes the Legislature determines each year the sum needed by the State and partitions it among the counties. This done, the inspectors of all the districts of a county assemble and repartition upon each district [i. e. town] the amount assigned to their county. Finally the inspector of the town assisted by a certain number of assessors make a repartition among the citizens according to their fortunes. A collector appointed in each town collects the taxes, by a list furnished him, and turns the amount into the treasury of the county, whence it passes into the treasury of the State. The collection is made almost without expense and any waste is impossible. It is needless to say that in a country where the inhabitants have as much integrity as public spirit the levies are made with impartial justice. A law of the State exempts all new settlers from taxation for ten years. The other citizens pay each year once for all. Furthermore in that country they have neither tenths, nor farm fees, nor lord's dues, nor licenses, nor inheritance taxes—in a word none of those many taxes, without doubt necessary, that most governments resort to, to procure money. Each one in the words of the Scriptures eats his bread in peace under his own fig tree."

"O fortunatos nimium, sua si bona norint
Agricolae, quibus procul discordibus armis
Fundit humi facilem victum justissima tellus."
—*Virgil*.¹

The number of senators, counsellors, counties, and even towns is dependent only on the population without limitation by the State. As soon as a certain number of settlers are brought together in a district newly cleared, they form a new district, or jurisdiction, in English Township, become active citizens and if they have the requisite qualifications, are voters and eligible for all offices; for example, the new settlement of Batavia in Genesee upon the Tonawonta river obtained the right to be the chief place of a new township, and its residents sent the following year a deputy to the Assembly. This right was accorded them under the single condition of building a prison and a town-hall. Batavia and the surrounding country was covered with trees six years ago. After these facts I ask if there exists in the world a country that ought to be more dear to honest and industrious men—friends of liberty and equality?

In regard to religion the tolerance there is absolute. The constitution of the State guarantees to every one the right to serve the Supreme Being as his conscience dictates, provided that there is in his doctrine or external practice nothing contrary to the good morals and the peace that ought to exist among the citizens. Each congregation (except the Dutch and Episcopalians which have endowments²) is bound to provide by a tax on the pews of the church or by voluntary contributions for the expenses of the church and the support of the pastors. To whatever sect one belongs he is an elector and eligible. The following is a list of the sects known in New York and the number of their congregations:

Presbyterians, English.....	87	Lutherans	12
Reformed, Dutch.....	66	Moravians	2
Baptists	30	Methodists	1
Episcopalians	26	Catholics	1
Quakers	20	Jews	1

To give an idea of the absolute toleration that reigns in that country in matters of religion, I will cite the extraordinary sect of Shakers.

They came from England to New York in 1774, and having joined with a few of their brethren that they found there, they settled at Nisqueunia³ in the neighborhood of Albany. They there expounded their doctrines and made many proselytes. They would have made many more if they had been persecuted, but the State had

1. "O farmers all too blest, could they but know
The blessings that are theirs, for whom Earth pours
From her own breast an easy sustenance,
Remote from war's mellay, most righteous Earth!"

—*Royd's tr. Virgil's Second Georgic.*

2. This was true of New York City only.—*Tr.*

3. Niskayuna, on the Mohawk eight miles from Albany.—*Ed.*

the sagacity to leave them entirely alone. Anna Leese,¹ whom they called "The Elect Lady," was the head of this sect. They pretended that she was the woman mentioned in the 12th chapter of the Revelation, and that she spoke 72 languages. These languages, it is true, were unintelligible to living beings, but she spoke with the dead. She gave herself out as the mother of all the elect, saying that she was in continual labor for the welfare of mankind, and that no blessing would descend from on high but through her.

The Elect Lady asserted that she was immortal, that the day of judgment was coming, and that her followers had been chosen to judge the universe. Her death put an end to the comedy. Their worship, if it is true that one can call their extravagant practices by that name, consists of singing, dancing, leaping, kneeling, clapping the hands, sighing, sobbing, and above all whirling on their heels, which they do with incredible agility, pretending to show by it the omnipotence of God. They do all these exercises with such violence that they end by falling in convulsions. From which the name comes, Shakers. But it is time to conclude.

The new colonists as they arrive in Genesee buy the quantity of land that suits them. It is ordinarily 100 pauses [undetermined], choosing it wherever there are vacant lands. They pay two or three piastres [Spanish dollars] an acre, one-quarter or one-third down and the balance on long time. However if they lack money none is demanded. They execute a mortgage running for two or three or four years without interest. After this term they begin to pay legal interest, a tenth of the principal, and that year by year until the entire debt is paid.

The American Congress has forbidden the holders of land to sell or lease it in any way that appears to introduce the feudalism of Europe. They understand that if that has brought about the modern revolutions, it might in time provoke similar ones here. Thus for example a proprietor cannot legally make a concession of land to a planter under the restraint of a farm fee that is not redeemable,² even if it were only one farthing per acre. This measure appears to me to be very wise.

So much for the planters who come singly. As to those who would form an association of poor but honest and industrious families, which would go to those places in a body, they could obtain more favorable conditions. Before indicating them I ought to give some essential and preliminary information.

No one takes it upon himself either to send out colonists to America or to maintain them until their arrival at destination. Neither does any one make them any sort of pecuniary advance for that object. To be admitted to participate in such advantages a condition, *sine qua non*, is that the head of the emigrating family should have on starting from his country the sum necessary for his transportation and maintenance. That would not be less than twenty-five or thirty louis [\$100.00 to \$120.00] per person. At one time it was not so well understood and advances were made. It resulted in a great abuse. Most of the families that were taken to

1. Ann Lee, called usually "Mother Ann."—Ed.

2. That is, under a permanent or irredeemable ground-rent.—Tr.

America were no sooner arrived than they decamped and went to settle elsewhere, in order to evade the payment of so just a debt. It is true that the laws of the country being very severe, the creditor would obtain one after another, taking the body for the debt, no matter to what part of the State he had gone. But that required difficult investigations and such an amount of quarrels that it was thought better to adopt another system. These faithless debtors arrested and condemned to work until the debt was paid made a great noise, to the effect that Europeans were drawn over to America only to be made to work by force or even sold—a calumny so absurd as to need no refutation.

Besides the times have changed. America is no longer so depopulated nor land so low in price that it can be thrown at the head of everybody. They regard today less the quantity than the quality of those who arrive. They have already too many bad subjects, idlers, gamblers, drunkards, without the precepts of religion. It would be impolitic to add to the number and nourish a gangrene that would end by corrupting the social order. Now whatever they say a certain estate is always a guarantee of morality. The rule is not general. It would be humiliating to the poor and grievous to the sensible man to think that it should be.

That settled, what are the conditions that an association of a fair number of farmers, shepherds, mechanics or workmen could obtain should they determine to go to the New World and settle in Genesee?

1°. They could procure a leader, intelligent and experienced, furnished with full power, and provided with a good sum of money, who would care for their interest, charter a ship for their transport, accompany them, locate them on their places, and provide for the first needs of the embryo colony.

2°. They would build houses of wood and put in them the farm tools.

3°. As the first winter is always difficult and as it requires expenses, they could advance to each father of a family, who had bought land, 40, 50, or 60 piastres [Spanish dollars] according to need; this he would enjoy two years without interest, and which he would repay at the end of that time with part of the produce of his harvest; but in order to guarantee this debt he would engage to clear on the land he had bought at least six acres a year.

4°. They would set aside gratis a certain number of acres of the best land for the good of the community, and to provide afterward for such local expenses as the maintenance of the poor and orphans.

5°. They would assign in the same way a quantity sufficient to maintain a pastor, a doctor, and a schoolmaster.

6°. They would hold in the treasury the sum of \$20,000, which would be used to make loans to builders of mills and other factories. Also for the opening of roads, construction of bridges, the building of a town hall, a church, etc. The colonists who had leisure time would do work of that sort and receive a salary in money, or if it would be more convenient they could carry their day's work to their account current and deduct it from their debts.

7°. They would establish merchants who would furnish at an honest price whatever they needed, and would buy to take to the neighboring markets all the products that the settler had to sell.

Finally, when the colonists were of a sufficient number they would procure the right to form a township, send a representative to the Assembly and enjoy all the prerogatives of active citizens.

The most favorable time to go is as was done by our compatriots of Basle, February or March, for it is important to arrive at those places before the end of April, that one may at once begin work, to have a good season, and procure a good harvest for the winter following. However an association of a fair number could send out in advance the young and vigorous men, who would form a sort of advance guard, charged to begin the most difficult work. In this case they could start in summer in order to have the autumn and the fine days of winter to themselves for cutting the trees, clearing the country and preparing the land. The rest of the colony, notably the women and children, would go to join them in the spring of the following year. One such step would guard against the greatest troubles.

Let those who are determined to start for the New World not act rashly, by chance, or caprice. They would run the risk of making a foolish, ill-advised step, of which they would have to repent. In all cases why should they not take advantage of the circumstances? My heart bleeds when I see my fellow citizens leave their country as straying sheep, without protection, without a leader. I do not tell them to go. I do not tell them to remain. Let each be the judge of his own case. There are pros and cons. The advantages mingle with the disadvantages. Let them take the balance. I have given them some notions that they should consider, some advice they should put in practice. As for me my task is finished. I have satisfied the most urgent need of my heart, which will be as it always has been to be useful to my fellows. *Terar dum prosim.*¹

Shores of the Ohio, I salute you. I salute you, charming hills of the Allegheny and the Tonnewonta, from whose summits the farmer looks upon the limpid surface of the Great Lakes as I see the majestic Lemman spread under my windows. Success to those who be-take themselves to your shades; may they leave in Europe their vices and their misery and carry with them only their virtues.

1. "I will waste away while I may profit."

THE MAP IN PASTOR BRIDEL'S BOOK.

The title may be rendered as follows: "Map showing part of the Genesee country which the Holland Company, along with Messrs. William and John Willink, and others, have purchased in the back part of New York State. They are now sending settlers there, and putting it under cultivation."

The note runs—

"The chain of mountains, or rather, hills, which lies at the north, is formed by horizontal beds of limestone; its perpendicular height where greatest is only 450 feet above the level of Lake Ontario. It is there is found Niagara Fall and several other very picturesque cascades. The appearance of the country, whether towards the north to the shores of Lake Ontario, or south to the Allegheny, cannot better be described than by saying it is a slightly undulating plain, watered by a multitude of rivers and brooks. There is no swamp except at the edge of lakes."

As noted on a preceding page, the map is copied with great ingenuity from the Holland Land Co.'s map of 1800. Buffalo appears as New Amsterdam; the stream is marked Buffalo river, as it had been known to the whites at least since 1764. The Seneca name is also given: "*Taseoway*," otherwise *To-se-o-way* or *Te-hos-e-ro-ron*, "the place of the basswoods." Other points of special interest are the designation of settlements on the Niagara from Fort Erie north; of the Delaware and Seneca villages on the Cattaraugus; of Cornplanter's mill ("*moulin d'Abeals*") on the Allegheny, and not far from it the missionary station established by the Society of Friends, approximately the Tunesassa mission school of to-day; also the oil spring ("*source bitumineuse*") in the Willink tract on the headwaters of Olean creek.

APPENDIX

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

BUFFALO HISTORICAL
SOCIETY

1914

PROCEEDINGS OF THE BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY

FIFTY-SECOND ANNUAL MEETING, JANUARY 13, 1914.

The fifty-second annual meeting of the Buffalo Historical Society was held at the Historical Building Tuesday evening, January 13, 1914. President Henry W. Hill presided. After the minutes of the last annual meeting had been read and approved, Mr. D. M. Silver presented to the Society a map of the Holland Purchase, showing Indian trails which he had located.

The President delivered his annual address as follows:

THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS.

Members of the Board of Managers, Members of the Buffalo Historical Society:

Ladies and Gentlemen: At these annual meetings of the Buffalo Historical Society, we are pleased to welcome its members and friends. It has now become one of the permanent institutions of this city, and all are interested in its work and its success.

On this occasion it devolves upon its members, assembled in their corporate capacity, to transact its business affairs, including the receipt of the reports of its officers and the election of new managers, to take the place of those whose terms of office now expire. These matters must be transacted at this meeting. We are to have the reports of the Secretary and Treasurer, and proceed with the election of five managers for the term of four years, to take the place of Henry W. Hill, Henry R. Howland, George R. Howard, William G. Justice and Charles R. Wilson, whose terms of office now expire.

Before proceeding, however, with such formal business matters, mention may properly be made of some of the noteworthy transactions of the year of local as well as of general historical interest.

The destruction of the village of Buffalo on December 30, 1813, a hundred years ago, and other important events of that period, made the War of 1812 a matter of never-failing interest to the people of this vicinity. This was shown in the interstate celebration of the Battle of Lake Erie, during the summer of 1913. The local celebration was under the supervision of the State Commission of eleven members. A concurrent resolution was offered by your president when a member of the State Senate, on January 25, 1910, which

authorized the appointment of a State Commission to confer with similar commissions of the states bordering on Lake Erie, in relation to Commodore Perry's victory. This resolution was adopted in the Senate January 26, 1910, and in the Assembly on January 27, 1910. (See the *New York Senate Journal*, pp. 55, 56, 66, 68.

The Governor appointed as members of the first Commission, from Buffalo, Messrs. George D. Emerson and Ogden P. Letchworth, both members, at that time, of this society. He also appointed three other gentlemen, namely: Colonel John T. Mott of Oswego, Dr. Clinton B. Herrick of Troy, and Henry Harmon Noble of Essex. That Commission, in due time, made its report to the Legislature of 1911. There were some changes in the personnel of the Commission, owing to the resignation of Mr. Letchworth of Buffalo, Colonel Mott of Oswego and Mr. Noble of Essex, and the appointment of Mr. William Simon of Buffalo, in place of Mr. Letchworth, and of Mr. William J. Conners of Buffalo, in place of Colonel Mott, and of William F. Rafferty of Syracuse, in place of Mr. Noble.

Subsequently the Legislature passed an Act, Chapter 190, of the Laws of 1913, creating a Commission of eleven members, who had, on behalf of the State of New York, the supervision of the Commodore Perry's victory centennial celebration of 1913. That Commission consisted of the following gentlemen:

New York State Commission: Hon. John F. Malone, Buffalo; Hon. Martin H. Glynn, Albany; Hon. William L. Ormrod, Churchville; Hon. Edward D. Jackson, Buffalo; Hon. Simon L. Adler, Rochester; Hon. Jacob Schifferdecker, Brooklyn; William Simon, Buffalo; William J. Conners, Buffalo; George D. Emerson, Buffalo; Dr. Clinton B. Herrick, Troy; William F. Rafferty, Syracuse.

The Commission organized by the election of William J. Conners of Buffalo, chairman; Hon. William J. Ormrod, vice-chairman; Hon. John F. Malone, chairman of executive committee; George D. Emerson, secretary; and William Simon, treasurer.

In addition to the State Commission, there was formed in Buffalo a local organization known as the General Committee of the Perry's Victory Centennial, consisting of General Edgar B. Jewett, chairman; Harold J. Balliett, secretary; General G. Barrett Rich, treasurer, and in addition to the Mayor of the City of Buffalo, the President of the Board of Councilmen, the President of the Board of Aldermen, and the following Citizens' Committee:

Charles R. Wilson, Frederick J. Meyer, Michael Nellany, Thomas Stoddart, General G. Barrett Rich, Leslie J. Bennett, George C. Ginther, Henry C. Steul, Hon. Henry W. Hill, Harry J. Knepper, Richard L. Kirtland, Charles K. Baker, Frank H. Severance, Dr. Francis K. Fronczak and Charles F. Reif.

The Board of Aldermen was represented by Col. George J. Haffa, George J. Burley, Thomas H. McDonough, John P. Sullivan, William G. Humphrey, George Vosseller and Edward Stengel.

The Board of Councilmen was represented by Francis T. Coppins, B. Dorasewicz, Horace C. Mills and Charles L. Willert.

The Chamber of Commerce was represented by M. Emmett Taber, O. H. P. Champlin, General Edgar B. Jewett, General Samuel M. Welch and Captain Thomas E. Boyd.

The Buffalo Historical Society was represented by its president, Henry W. Hill, its vice-president, Charles R. Wilson, its secretary, Frank H. Severance, General G. Barrett Rich, and many others, who were members of the local general committee.

The Citizens' Reception Committee was headed by Mr. Edward H. Butler, chairman, who welcomed the visitors in a pleasant address; and the Woman's Committee by Mrs. Esther C. Davenport, chairman. The committee included members of many of the most prominent families of the city, and they were busily engaged much of the time in receiving and entertaining guests from this and other states.

A long programme was prepared and tolerably well carried out, commencing on the evening of September 1, 1913, and extending through the week, until Saturday evening, September 6, 1913.

The hull of Commodore Perry's flagship *Niagara* had been recovered from the waters of Lake Erie, rebuilt and reëquipped along original lines, and was brought into the port of Buffalo on September 2nd, under an escort of an United States vessel, and a large fleet of pleasure craft assembled from various parts of Lake Erie. The *Niagara* was moored at the foot of Porter Avenue, where it was inspected by thousands of Buffalonians. All that remained visible of the original hull were the timbers forming the bottom of it, but the flagship had been rebuilt under Governmental supervision, along original lines, and presented a very imposing and attractive sight to people of this generation, familiar with the large battle ships and dreadnaughts that now compose the navies of the world. Comparison was inevitable between the character of vessels engaged in the War of 1812 and those that now float on the high seas and protect our eastern and western coasts. When one remembers, however, the destructive fire from such ships as were under the command of Commodore Perry at the Battle of Lake Erie, on September 10, 1813, and those under command of Commodore Thomas Macdonough at the Battle of Plattsburgh, on September 11, 1814, in both of which engagements the American fleets were successful, and that their results were as decisive as though they had been waged between modern battle ships, it may well be argued that victories do not depend so much on the size of vessels as upon the heroism of their commanders. In these two occasions the Commodores deserve the grateful appreciation and commendation of the people of the nation. The building, equipment and sailing of Commodore Perry's fleet, some of whose vessels were built and manned by people of this territory, gave it a local coloring and interest, which was reflected in the centennial celebration.

On September 3rd, under the auspices of the Woman's Committee, an address was made by the Hon. Peter A. Porter, on "The Perry Battle and Victory on Lake Erie." An ode was given in honor of Oliver Hazard Perry, by Mrs. Alfred G. Hauenstein, and a talk on the "Early Frontier Men and Women," by Mrs. Robert Fulton. "Reminiscences of a Real Daughter of the War of 1812," were given by Mrs. James H. Ross. These exercises were held in the Industrial and Educational Union Building.

Much credit is due the Woman's Committee for their interest, hospitality and activities, extending through the entire week of the

celebration. It was apparent from their interest that they were willing to take large responsibilities, participate in the festivities, and enjoy the exercises quite as much as were the members of other committees.

On September 4th there was a grand military parade by the Fourth Brigade, National Guard; Naval Militia; troops of cavalry; Battery of the National Guard; 29th Regiment, United States Infantry; the United States sailors and marines, including also 5,000 uniformed members of the United Spanish War Veterans, who participated in the parade. General Samuel M. Welch, chief of the Fourth Brigade, was the marshal of the entire parade. The marshal's staff were: Chief Edmond D. McCarthy; Aids, George J. Metzger, Lee H. Smith, Louis L. Babcock, George C. Diehl, James H. Farquharson, Charles E. Walbridge, Jr., Frank H. Chapin, Carl H. Breed and Lawrence H. Gardner. The 29th Regiment of the U. S. Infantry was under command of Col. John S. Mallory.

On the evening of September 4th there was a state banquet at the Hotel Iroquois, under the auspices of the New York State Perry's Victory Centennial Commission, given to State officers, commissioners from other states, and members of the Buffalo General Committee, and invited guests numbering about 500. William J. Conners, Chairman of the State commission, left nothing undone to make the banquet a success. Senator John F. Malone presented Mr. John N. Scatcherd, who presided as toastmaster, in a felicitous manner. The post-prandial exercises comprised several interesting speeches, some of which dwelt at length upon the general features of the War of 1812, others on the naval engagements of Lake Erie, and still others on the character and heroism of Commodore Perry and his able corps of officers.

Mayor Louis P. Fuhrmann was the first speaker and welcomed the Commissioners and guests to Buffalo, which he proclaimed to be "a world city," and said: "There is none more cosmopolitan." William J. Conners, chairman of the commission, was then presented, and made some happy remarks in relation to his selection as chairman and the steps taken by the commission to make the celebration novel and interesting. He was followed by the Hon. Asa Bird Gardner, who gave a biographical sketch of Commodore Perry, and a vivid description of the naval engagement. The next speaker was Hon. Dudley Field Malone, Assistant Secretary of State, who responded for President Wilson, who could not be present. In the course of his address he characterized the War of 1812 as a second war for independence, and compared the naval victory on Lake Erie, under Commodore Perry, to the victory of the Athenian fleet at Salamis, under the direction of Themistocles.

The Hon. August Belmont, grand-nephew of Oliver Hazard Perry, was then presented, and said that at one time he had seventeen cousins at Annapolis, which showed the tendency of the Perry family to follow the navy.

Rev. A. V. V. Raymond, D. D., followed with a scholarly address, in which he called attention to the fact that the celebration was in honor of a man who had realized the higher possibilities of life, and had shown that the spirit of patriotism still continued to dominate the careers of such men as Commodore Perry.

He was followed by Justice Herbert P. Bissell, who gave an instructive talk on the progress made in naval affairs during the last century.

Mr. Edward H. Butler expressed the appreciation of the citizens of Buffalo to the commissioners for their work, and also an appreciation of the appropriation for the erection of a monument to Commodore Perry on the water front of Buffalo. The last speaker of the evening was the Rev. M. J. Kean, who spoke of the progress made in the city of Buffalo within his memory.

On Friday, September 5th, occurred a parade of veteran and other volunteer firemen of New York State; and in the evening an illuminated automobile parade.

On Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday and Friday there were many other interesting exercises, entertainments and exhibitions, in and about the city, along the water front, and down the Niagara River, including motor-boat races, water pageants and other features, including aeroplane exhibitions. The streets, the public and many private buildings were beautifully decorated and illuminated at night. Thousands of people came into the city from surrounding towns. The streets, boulevards and public places were crowded with spectators, and the city, in its entirety assumed a gala appearance, unlike anything that has been seen here since the Pan-American Exposition. If we were to characterize the celebration, we should say it was "spectacular" rather than abounding in historical pageants, and did not possess the literary features, which predominate in many historical celebrations. Evidently, the commissioners decided on exercises, exhibitions and entertainments that would amuse, if they did not instruct in the great principles underlying the War of 1812 and the lessons to be learned from such engagements as that, whose victory they were commissioned to celebrate.

Somewhat similar programmes characterized the celebration at other ports along the Great Lakes in 1913, visited by Perry's flagship, the *Niagara*, whose itinerary was as follows:

<i>Arrive.</i>	<i>Depart.</i>
Erie, Pa. Week of July 6th	July 13th
Fairport, Ohio July 14th	July 15th
Lorain, Ohio July 15th	July 20th
Put-in-Bay, Ohio July 20th	July 26th
Monroe, Mich. July 26th	July 27th
Toledo, Ohio July 27th	July 30th
Milwaukee, Wis. August 4th	August 8th
Green Bay, Wis. August 10th	August 13th
Chicago, Ill. August 16th	August 21st
Put-in-Bay, Ohio August 26th	August 28th
Buffalo, N. Y. Sept. 2nd	Sept. 6th
Sandusky, Ohio Sept. 8th and 9th	
Put-in-Bay, Ohio Sept. 10th and 11th	
Detroit, Mich. Sept. 12th and 13th	
Cleveland, Ohio Sept. 14th	Sept. 17th

The several states participating in the Perry Centennial Celebration made appropriations in addition to the general appropriation

of two hundred and fifty thousand dollars made by the Federal Government, from which aggregated funds is being erected a great memorial lighthouse at Put-in-Bay, rising three hundred and thirty-five feet above the waters of the Lake, which will not be completed for a year or more, to commemorate the centenary of the Battle of Lake Erie and the hundred years of peace between Great Britain and the United States.

There is no portion of our national domain more deeply concerned in the results of the naval engagements on Lake Erie and the Treaty of Peace concluded at Ghent, in December, 1814, than the Niagara Frontier. As a result of this, we have had a century of peace between the United States and Great Britain, including Canada, which has made possible the building up of an extensive commerce on the Great Lakes, and of the ports of Duluth, Buffalo, Cleveland, Detroit, Milwaukee and Chicago, whose annual water-borne tonnage approaches in magnitude that of the large ports of Europe. The commissioners who formulated the articles of the Treaty of Ghent labored four months or longer over its provisions, but their work was so well done and subsequently ratified as to insure a century of peace, which, we trust, is but the augury of permanent peace between the English-speaking peoples of the world.

And this brings me to the consideration of the proposed Peace Celebration now in contemplation, for which the preliminary arrangements will go forward in case the Government of the United States decides to coöperate with Great Britain in the conduct of such celebration. It is, therefore, important that the members of this Society, interested in the proposed celebration, take action looking toward that result. The time is so short that matters must be expedited at Washington, if there is to be any such celebration as that proposed. It might be well if a resolution were proposed, and adopted by the members of this Society, endorsing the bill of Congressman Smith providing for the appointment of a preliminary commission. The Buffalo Historical Society is deeply interested in the stirring events which have occurred along the Niagara Frontier for two centuries, down to the conclusion of the Treaty of Ghent. Any such celebration, therefore, as that now proposed between the English-speaking peoples, which resulted in the cessation of war and the conclusion of the Treaty of Peace between the United States and Great Britain, including Canada, would necessarily engage the attention of the members of this Society, whose field of activities extends to all the events occurring along the Niagara Frontier, and particularly those culminating in the War of 1812. The proposed celebration, therefore, falls within the scope of the functions of this Society, and if we are to participate in the proposed Peace Celebration, it would be fulfilling its mission and carrying out the purposes of its founders.

This movement had its inception in January, 1910, in the formation of a National Committee, headed by William Howard Taft. Theodore Roosevelt was made honorary chairman, and several distinguished citizens were named as vice-chairmen, with Andrew Carnegie as chairman, and John A. Stewart chairman of its executive committee.

There was also formed a citizens' committee of this city, comprising a large number of its prominent citizens, including many members of this Society, and Mr. Fenton M. Parke was named as chairman. Local committees have also been formed in other cities and towns, for the purpose of arousing interest in the proposed peace celebration.

Such a celebration as that proposed would undoubtedly stimulate popular and perhaps deep interest in the stirring events of the War of 1812, especially those occurring in this vicinity, and to some extent, arouse interest also in the events occurring in other localities, all of which are more or less connected, on account of being the outgrowth of that war.

The work of the Society during the past year is evidenced among other things, in the production of Volume XVI of its Publications, known as "The Picture Book of Earlier Buffalo," which has proved to be one of its most popular and valuable publications. In it will be found the pictures of many of the early buildings and the views of Buffalo in its evolution from an Indian village to a city of its present magnitude. In connection with these, our Secretary, Mr. Frank H. Severance, has presented historic data in relation to many of the views, that adds materially to the value of the publication.

The Society has maintained its course of illustrated lectures for its members, all of which have been interesting and instructive.

Its doors have been kept open as required by law, to the public during regular business hours and also on Sunday afternoons. Its collections have been somewhat augmented by valuable purchases of early engravings of Niagara Falls, by donations from citizens of the city, gifts from its members, and contributions to its properties of various kinds.

Such additions are appreciated by the officers, who are merely custodians for the people of the city. This building is being rapidly filled, and the time will soon come when material of not strictly historical value cannot be received. It is important that the Buffalo Historical Society ever remain the general repository of all historical material relating to the successive generations that have occupied this territory, as well as to the exploration, settlement, colonization and development of the Niagara Frontier from its earliest known occupancy. Therefore, we feel justified in making an appeal to all to deposit here such material as may properly come within the scope of its collections and be useful in its activities. An examination of our Publications will disclose the fact that the Society's material is being made accessible to its members from year to year. This is known throughout the land as being a live historical society and we hope to be able to continue the publication of its volumes annually. This is all that can reasonably be expected in addition to the various other activities in the way of maintaining a lecture course, the varied school and lecture work of the Secretary, the maintenance of the library and archives in a condition in which they may be consulted daily, and the furnishing of information in many ways to the people of the city and elsewhere from its large and well-classified collection.

During the year the Society has sustained a loss in the removal of the library of the late Charles D. Marshall from its custody.

Through no fault of its officers, that library of nearly a thousand volumes and comprising many early editions of works, such as "The Jesuit Relations," and other works relating to the Niagara Frontier, the accumulation of Orsamus H. Marshall, one of the founders and the fourth President of the Buffalo Historical Society, supplemented by the acquisitions of his son, the late Charles D. Marshall, after the same had been placed in the custody of this Society and properly provided for, with the implied understanding that it was always to remain so, was removed, taken to New York and has been, or is to be disposed of. It is hardly possible to believe that the late Charles D. Marshall, or his father, who were so deeply interested in the organization and growth of this Society, would have consented to have their historical accumulations of a lifetime relating to the Niagara Frontier removed from this locality, where they were of the greatest value, sold and scattered, and thus have the value of their collection largely dissipated, and their many years of patient and intelligent efforts thus nullified.

The Society has also sustained other losses far more serious than the loss of the Marshall books, in the death of nine of its life members and eleven of its annual members during the year. The list includes prominent members and citizens of Buffalo. It is as follows:

Jan. 29	Edward R. Rice	Life	Member
Feb. 2	John Gowans	Life	Member
Feb. 13	Col. Chas. E. Walbridge	Annual	Member
Mar. 26	Stephen M. Clement	Life	Member
Apr. 15	Hon. Stephen Lockwood	Annual	Member
Apr. 27	Frank H. Ransom	Annual	Member
May 5	George B. Taylor	Annual	Member
May 10	Henry A. Richmond	Life	Member
Jun. 13	Edwin Parsons Sears	Annual	Member
Jun. 30	Josiah Letchworth	Life	Member
Aug. 15	Josephus Nelson Larned	Life	Member
Aug. 18	Francis N. Trevor	Annual	Member
Aug. 22	Horace Briggs	Life	Member
Sept. 14	Hon. Charles F. Bishop	Life	Member
Sept. 27	Fisher C. Atherton	Annual	Member
Oct. 8	Mrs. Stephen C. Clarke	Annual	Member
Nov. 30	William N. D. Bird	Annual	Member
Dec. 16	Henry L. Meech	Life	Member
Dec. 18	Mrs. Louise Bethune	Annual	Member
Dec. 25	Gordon F. Matthews	Annual	Member

Two of the departed were members of the Board of Managers of this Society.

Henry A. Richmond, who died on May 10, 1913, joined the Society on May 6, 1890, became a member of the Board of Managers in 1895, and remained such until his death. He was very attentive upon the meetings of the Board, when he was in town, and took a keen interest in making the facilities of the institution useful to the schools and students of Buffalo. His position in the community was unique in that he devoted his time unsparingly and unselfishly to the promotion of high ideals in public and civic life. His interest

in the promotion of Civil Service Reform and in other reformatory measures gave him a standing and a reputation, which extended far beyond the confines of this county. He was a genial, affable and whole-souled gentleman in the broadest sense of the word, and his colleagues on the Board of Managers were edified by his presence. His loss is keenly felt by them.

In the death of Josephus Nelson Larned, on August 15, 1913, this Society also sustained a great loss. Mr. Larned became a member on December 11, 1866, a life member in 1896, and a member of the Board of Managers on January 8, 1895, and he continued to hold that position until his death. He was a member of the committee on publications, and was frequently called on to advise with reference to the literary work of the Society. He was widely and favorably known as the editor of "A History for Ready Reference," consisting originally of five volumes, published in 1893-1895, to which he added two supplementary volumes, bringing the history down to 1910. This is a standard reference work, and is largely made up from other standard histories, the material of which is arranged in chronological order in a way to make it easily accessible, and containing excerpts from the best writers obtainable on the subjects treated. He was also the compiler of a two-volume work, entitled "Seventy Centuries of the Life of Mankind," which is something of a resumé of his "History for Ready Reference," although it does not purport so to be. He was also the author of a "History of the United States for Secondary Schools," and a "History of England for Schools," and of other historical works, one of which was largely local in character. One of his late contributions was on "The Life and Work of William Pryor Letchworth," excerpts from which were read in his eulogy of Mr. Letchworth before this Society. His contributions to historical literature in the way of compiling the best standard authorities into one great encyclopaedia has brought within the reach of students and general readers much of the best information extant in relation to the history of the nations of the world.

The business affairs of this Society are in good condition, as will be shown by the reports of the secretary and treasurer. Under the law, we annually submit our estimates as to the probable maintenance expenses for each ensuing fiscal year, and the Common Council, which has representation on the Board of Managers, and is therefore apprised of the necessities of this institution, has been very considerate of its needs and requirements, and has made such appropriations as were necessary to carry on its work from year to year.

As time goes on, it is necessary to make repairs to this building, and the officers are using all reasonable means to prevent any injury to it on account of failure to make repairs when necessary.

The report of the secretary and treasurer will acquaint you with matters, to which I have not referred. In conclusion, I may say that the Buffalo Historical Society was never in a more serviceable, healthy and active condition than it is at the present time. The officers, in carrying out the original purposes of its founders, desire to extend the field of its activities in those directions which appear to be warranted, in view of the larger and growing demands made

upon it. The growth of Buffalo from a small city in 1862, when this Society began its work, to its present size has largely increased the burdens and extended the opportunities of this organization for greater usefulness, and we hope it may ever continue to respond to all proper demands that may be made upon it by the people of this growing municipality.

In accordance with a suggestion contained in the President's address, the following resolution, prepared by Mr. Fenton M. Parke of the Buffalo Peace Celebration Committee, was submitted and unanimously adopted:

WHEREAS, During the past four years, efforts have been made throughout the United States to prepare for the proper celebration of one hundred years of peace between English-speaking nations, and such efforts have resulted in the creation of an American National committee with representatives from the principal cities of the United States, in which the executive officers include some of the most prominent people in New York and other American cities, and embracing all nationalities and religions; and

WHEREAS, The same movement has developed in Canada, England and Australia, in which countries like committees have been created, headed by their most prominent citizens; and

WHEREAS, This plan of celebration has developed into a worldwide peace movement, international in scope; and

WHEREAS, There is now pending before the Congress of the United States, a bill introduced by Hon. Charles Bennett Smith of Buffalo, Representative in Congress, for the creation of a National Commission to be appointed by the President of the United States, which shall make a report to Congress at an early date, and a complete survey of the plan of the celebration to be held in 1914-1915, with recommendations to Congress for memorials and other general features of the celebration; and

WHEREAS, It is believed by all who have devoted time and study to this matter that full success can only be obtained through the creation by Congress of a National Commission; now therefore

Be it Resolved, That we, citizens of Buffalo and vicinity, members of the Buffalo Historical Society, at its annual meeting, owing to the brevity of time in which the proposed commission must act, earnestly petition the Congress of the United States of America to pass, at the earliest possible opportunity, the bill above referred to, and this we urge by reason of the immense importance of the proposed celebration.

THE SECRETARY'S REPORT FOR 1913.

Mr. President and Members of the Society: I respectfully submit the following statement regarding the work of the past year:

Building. The building has required less outlay than in former years. Slight roof repairs have been made and the brick lining of the furnace firehole relaid, and iron castings to support the brick arch put in place; the mirrors over the doors of the entrance hall were resilvered, some necessary work done in the attic and other slight repairs made as needed. It is recommended that next spring we clean and tint the walls of such upper rooms as were not so renovated a year or so ago.

At the old burying-ground, near Williamsville, owned by this society, we have reset the heavy cannon which marks the center of the plot where rest remains of soldiers of the War of 1812. Instead of the old oak planking which had rotted, there has been laid a concrete base for the cannon, which it is hoped will withstand the elements for many years. Repairs to the fence, or a new fence, should be made the coming season.

Library. The additions to our library during 1913 number 684 volumes. Among the more valuable accessions received by gift are Winsor's "Narrative and Critical History of America," 8 vols. 4to., donated by Hon. Charles B. Wheeler; and 55 volumes of early Lockport and other Western New York papers, the gift of Mr. Spalding Evans, of Lockport. Our purchases have been chiefly books relating to local history, especially in the period of the War of 1812, and genealogies. A rare item of value is the second edition of Burgoyne's original narrative of his expedition, published at London, in 1780. A still more valuable accession is a large volume of proof sheets of documents relating to the arrest of McLeod, implicated in the destruction of the steamboat Caroline on the Niagara, in 1837. These proofs contain the correspondence between the governments of the United States and Great Britain in relation to the disturbance on this frontier in the '30's. The printing was for the use of the British Government only. How this copy came to be offered for sale cannot be stated, but it was secured in London at a moderate price and is an important addition to our collections. Mention may be made of the purchase of the Century dictionary and atlas.

For some years the Historical Society has received from State funds \$100 annually for library purposes, the grant being conditional on the appropriation from the Society's funds of \$200 for similar use. In this matter we have stood in the same relation to the State Education department that is occupied by all other reference libraries in the State complying with the State requirements. The legislature of 1913 cut the library appropriation from \$35,000 to \$25,000, making it impossible to continue the grant of \$100 per library. A deficiency bill to be introduced in the legislature of 1914 will, it is hoped, make good the shortage and enable the State to continue the library grant as heretofore. Without it, we shall probably receive, early in 1914, a pro rata grant for 1913, which we are informed from Albany will be about \$65.00. If this deficiency is not made good,

our purchasing resources for the current year will be somewhat curtailed.¹

A few manuscripts of value have been added to our collections during the year. One collection came to us in a barrel, from Dr. Benjamin L. Lothrop. The papers in the barrel, we were told, had been stored for many years in stables or other exposed places, where their condition was not improved. Probably three-fourths of the contents of the barrel had to be thrown away. We rescued, however, several hundred papers, mostly relating to affairs in Black Rock in the early years of the last century. Some records of the Black Rock Land and Railway Company, the Black Rock Glass Company, the Jubilee Water Works, the Buffalo and Black Rock Railroad Company, the Union Church Association of Black Rock, and other local interests were sifted out and saved. Here was found the original draft of the petition to the Council of Appointment by representatives of the Town of Buffalo, County of Niagara, in relation to the nomination of candidates for county officers, dated Buffalo, January 15, 1821. Numerous papers relating to early business transactions of the Porter, Barton, and other early families of Black Rock were also in the collection.

Some three years ago, when the Main-street residence of O. H. Marshall, and afterwards of his son, Charles D. Marshall, was sold and torn down, more than a thousand volumes selected from the Marshall library were placed in the keeping of this Society, it being understood by the Society at the time that the owner, Mrs. Hazel Marshall Koerner, intended to present the books to this institution as a memorial to Orsamus H. and Charles D. Marshall. The books all related to American history, most of them to the history of Western New York and the Niagara region in particular, and among them were many that were rare and valuable. Their collection had been the pleasure for many years of the elder Marshall, and his son had added to them numerous valuable items. On receiving the books, the Historical Society prepared a label, or book-plate, stating the facts of their former ownership and that they were placed with us as a memorial by Mrs. Koerner. Last October, Mrs. Koerner removed the books to New York, where, it is said, they are to be sold at public auction the present year.

It is always a matter of regret to students of history when a collection bearing on one subject, which has been brought together at no little cost and labor through the years, is again dispersed and scattered. Such a course obliterates a source of usefulness which had been created. This regret in the present instance is not only felt by all of us who are charged with the preservation and study of our regional history, but is heightened by the additional regret that so worthy a memorial should be lost, not merely to the Historical Society, but to Buffalo.

Publications. In June, volume XVI of the Society's Publications, "The Picture Book of Earlier Buffalo," was completed and presented to our members. It was very well received, and has had a considerable sale to non-members and to libraries throughout the country. The large number of engravings which it contained—425—made it

1. A subsequent appropriation brought the grant up to the usual figure.

the most expensive book the Society has published, but the general verdict appears to be that it was worth doing.

Volume XVII will soon be ready. The editor's work on it is finished, and it awaits only the attention of the binder.

A work to which the Secretary has given no little time during the year has been the preparation of an annotated list of all Buffalo periodical publications from October, 1812, when the first press was set up in Buffalo, to date. It is in effect a history of the first century of Buffalo journalism. Its completion and publication will be accomplished in due course.

Museum. During the year Mr. William A. Galpin has added to his numerous collections in our museum, notably to the engravings of Washington. This collection, framed and hung in the north hall of the upper floor, now embraces about 40 pictures, several of them rare and highly prized by collectors, all of them of interest and educational value. The collection includes among others, a fine impression of the Stuart portrait, a full length engraving by T. Hicks, and several other portraits of our first President, by distinguished painters and engravers.

Of the larger plates, showing scenes in Washington's life, may be mentioned a proof impression of Matteson's painting, "Washington delivering His Inaugural Address," engraved by H. S. Sadd; "Washington and His Generals," by A. H. Ritchie; two of F. O. C. Darley's once famous engravings, "Washington at the Outposts of Valley Forge," and "Washington's Adieu to His Generals." Here too is the famous cherry-tree picture, entitled "Father, I Cannot Tell a Lie," painted by G. G. White, engraved by John McRae; "Washington Crossing the Delaware," painted by E. Leutze, engraved by Paul Girardet; "Washington receiving Salute at the Field of Trenton," painted by John Faed, engraved by William Holl; a Washington family group, by Thomas Barlow; and "Lady Washington's Reception," a large and very handsome plate engraved by Ritchie from the painting by D. Huntington; a family group by Edward Savage, engraved by J. Sartain; and Martha Washington, engraved by J. C. Buttre from the original painting by Woolaston. These are examples of this interesting collection to which Mr. Galpin from time to time adds new pictures. We are much indebted to his zeal and generosity for the improvement of our collections during the past few years.

Next in importance to the Washington collection, and perhaps rivaling it in popular interest, is the collection of rare engravings of Niagara Falls, which, during the past year, has been framed and put on exhibition. A few of the pictures have long been in the possession of the Society. One other, a steel engraving published in 1774, was a gift a few years ago from the estate of Dr. E. C. W. O'Brien. The greater number, however, have been brought together by the secretary during recent years. In the summer of 1913, at the public sale in New York of the effects of a collector of Newport, R. I., were secured a large number of desirable views. The collection as now shown contains sixty engravings, aquatints, lithographs, and other rare or representative pictures of Niagara Falls.

The secretary's purpose in forming this collection has been to bring together and preserve here, not merely a random lot of pic-

tures which would have little historical value, but the earliest engravings, and of later years examples of the work of the most distinguished or representative artists who have painted our neighboring cataract.

The collection as a whole has the peculiar interest of illustrating the progress of knowledge regarding the Falls. It begins with the first engraving ever made of them, the copperplate which was first published in Hennepin's "*Nouvelle Découverte*" at Utrecht, in 1697. Numerous other views are shown, the work of European artists who redrew and reengraved Hennepin's picture with no first-hand knowledge of the subject.

No picture of Niagara Falls is known, after Hennepin, by any one who had visited them, until 1750, when Peter Kalm, the Swedish botanist, came to Niagara and made a sketch from which was engraved an interesting view. Numerous other early pictures based on drawings by British officers stationed at Fort Niagara, and published during the 18th century, are in the collection. The work of Lt. Col. Cockburn, John Bornet and W. I. Bennett may be noted. Here also are two superb engravings published in 1804 from paintings made in 1802, by John Vanderlyn, the first American artist of distinction who is known to have visited Niagara. Antedating him by a few years, was the engineer, Andrew Ellicott, whose sketch, published in 1790, is also shown.

There are numerous views in the collection, of various dates during the 19th century, showing the work of the greatest artists who in that time painted Niagara. Here is a superb reproduction in color of F. E. Church's celebrated picture, the original of which is in the Corcoran Gallery at Washington. B. Hess, Frank Cecil Schlitzer and J. Henry Hill are represented; the last named artist by an admirable etching. Some of these engravings are of great historical value, as they show landscape conditions which are now obliterated, especially on the Canadian side, where recent work of power companies and the extension of the Victoria park have brought about the disappearance of the Cedar and other islands, and greatly changed the appearance of the entire vicinity.

Still other pictures have the peculiar interest which attaches to the work of the early Buffalo press. Here are preserved colored lithographs of the Falls, published by O. G. Steele, in Buffalo, in 1838.

Not all of the Society's engravings on this subject are framed or exhibited. Numerous small ones, some of them very rare and interesting, are preserved in the library and are accessible to any special student of the subject.

The collection as a whole is believed to be perhaps the most comprehensive and valuable in existence on this special subject. It is the purpose of the secretary to add to it, from time to time, as desirable pictures are found available.

A number of portraits of prominent citizens of Buffalo have been received, and numerous miscellaneous additions made to the museum, all of which are duly entered in our records. Chief among them is the bronze portrait-tablet of Mr. Langdon, which occupies the place of honor over the president's chair.

Our collection of historical medals has received several interesting additions, and we hope for more, as this is a branch in which the Society is already rich—I refer to the James collection—and it is desirable to add to what we have, all medals commemorating historical events or places in America.

Notable miscellaneous gifts include the piano formerly owned by Joseph Ellicott, given to us by Mrs. Frank H. Goodyear; the desk used by Grover Cleveland when sheriff, and by his successor, Joseph L. Haberstro, a gift to the Society by Mr. W. A. Haberstro; and timber from Perry's second flagship, the *Niagara*, from Mayor Fuhrmann, who had it from Mayor Stern of Erie, Pa. From the estate of the late Hon. Charles F. Bishop we have received, with other articles, a large framed portrait of Mayor Bishop.

During the Perry Centennial celebration, and for some weeks before and after it, an interesting exhibit was made of relics of the battle of Lake Erie and in general of the War of 1812. Besides many articles owned by the Society, we exhibited numerous relics loaned by Mr. James P. White and by Dr. Irving P. Lyon. The latter gentleman placed in the Historical Building for some weeks a number of pitchers of Liverpool ware of a century ago, bearing views of Oliver Hazard Perry, John Paul Jones, Generals Pike and Hull and the frigate *Guerriere*; also a walking stick made from the old *Niagara*. These exhibits received much attention from the many visitors who came to us at that season.

Relations with other organizations. We have continued in pleasant and profitable relations with numerous other organizations. We were represented at the annual meeting of the New York State Historical Association, at Oswego, in September. The meeting for 1913 of the American Historical Association was held at Charleston and Columbia, S. C. As the program related chiefly to the history of the Southern states, and as distance and cost were to be considered, it was found advisable by our Board of Managers to substitute for attendance at this meeting a visit to certain Eastern institutions, where the secretary was able to consult material useful to him in his work and not to be found here. An invitation to be represented at the International Congress of Historical Studies, in London, last spring, it was not feasible to accept. We continue to share in the work of the Buffalo Educational Union and the Niagara Frontier Landmarks Association. We were represented on committees and otherwise at the International Congress on School Hygiene, held in Buffalo in August, and in the exercises of the Perry Centennial, in September.

During the year this institution, in coöperation with the American Historical Association and other organizations, has petitioned Congress for the erection at Washington of a National Archives building.

ENTERTAINMENTS OF 1913.

The entertainments for the year have been the following:

- Jan. 14. Annual meeting and illustrated lecture: "Rambles in the Wordsworth Country," Charles E. Rhodes.
- Jan. 28. Illustrated travel talk: "Sightseeing in Japan," Frank H. Severance.
- Feb. 11. Lincoln Birthday meeting. Address by Adelbert Moot; music, including songs by Miss Ella B. Snyder.
- Feb. 25. Illustrated lecture: "Northern Greece," Arthur S. Cooley, Ph. D.
- March 11. Illustrated lecture: "Something of India," Frank H. Severance.
- March 25. Illustrated lecture: "To the Summit of Mt. Ararat," Dr. Edgar J. Banks.
- April 8. Illustrated lecture: "Our National Parks," Nat. C. Brigham.
- April 24. Illustrated lecture: "Egypt," Mrs. Anna Botsford Comstock.
- Oct. 21. Historical lecture, illustrated: "Holland of To-day and the World Peace Movement," Dr. Wm. Elliot Griffis, D. D., L. H. D.
- Nov. 4. Illustrated lecture: "The House of Dreams," Rev. Henry R. Rose.
- Nov. 25. Illustrated lecture: "Palestine," Edgar J. Banks, Ph. D.
- Dec. 9. U. S. Senate Scenes: "Suffrage in the Seats of the Mighty," Mrs. Emily Montague Bishop.
- Dec. 16. Illustrated lecture: "Mexico and the Revolution," Frederick Monsen, F. R. G. S.

During the year the secretary has given numerous addresses, or illustrated lectures, before schools, clubs and other organizations in Buffalo. This is a phase of his work which, though at times a tax on strength, is cheerfully undertaken when desired, in the hope that it extends the usefulness of our institution. During the past few months, however, it has been necessary to decline numerous invitations. In May he addressed the Liberal Club of Dunkirk, the Monday Club of Fredonia and a literary society in Oswego. On June 10th he gave an address before the International Congress of the American Medico-Psychological Association, in session at the Clifton House, Niagara Falls, Ont., taking as his subject "The Niagara Region and the Peace Centenary." On Oct. 28th substantially the same address was given before the London and Middlesex Historical Society at London, Ont.

Membership. During the year we lost 21 members by death, a few by resignation, chiefly because of removal. Forty-eight new members were added, the total membership, exclusive of corresponding and honorary members, being 625. The losses by death have already been given in the report of the president.

During the year a distinguished honor has come to our president, which I am permitted to mention in this report. In recognition of his services in connection with the celebration of the Champlain

Tercentenary, the erection of permanent memorials in the Champlain Valley and the publication of two elaborate volumes prepared by him containing the history of these events, the Republic of France, through the National Legion of Honor, has made President Hill a Chevalier of that ancient and distinguished order.

Messrs. Henry W. Hill, Henry R. Howland, George R. Howard, William G. Justice and Charles R. Wilson were reëlected as managers for the ensuing term of four years.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE BOARD.

At the annual meeting of the Board of Managers, January 15, 1914, the officers of the past year were reëlected as follows: President, Henry W. Hill; vice-president, Charles R. Wilson; secretary and treasurer, Frank H. Severance.

Memorial

ACTION OF THE BOARD OF MANAGERS ON THE DEATH OF

ROBERT RODMAN HEFFORD

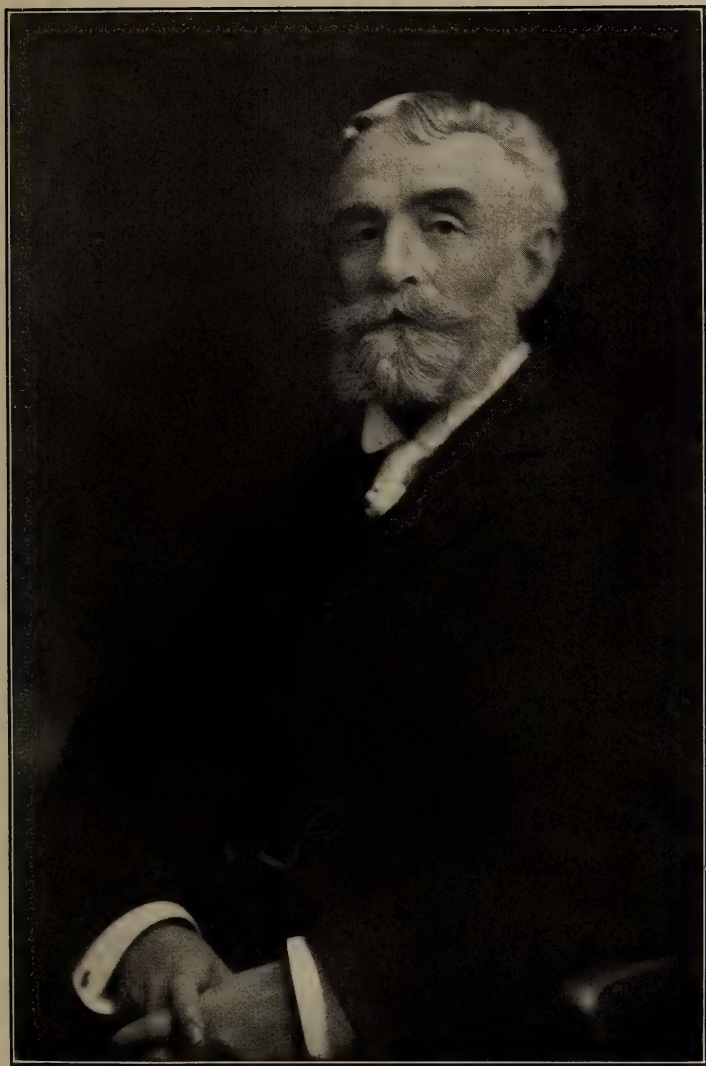
At a special meeting of the Board of Managers, Oct. 9, 1914, the following Testimonial was adopted and ordered entered in the records of the Society:

Again this body mourns the passing of an associate and friend,

ROBERT RODMAN HEFFORD, taken suddenly from earth on October 7, 1914, had for many years borne an active interest in the Buffalo Historical Society and its work in this community. His membership reaches back to March 22, 1875—40 years next spring. At various times, in those early years, he shared in the work of committees for specific purposes, made up, as the custom of the Society then was, from the active members.

On January 14, 1908, Mr. Hefford was elected a member of the Board of Managers; and as a manager of this Society continuously from that time to the hour of his death, he bore an active and helpful part in the work of this institution. He gave especially valuable service on the Finance and Building committees. During the reconstruction work at the Historical Building in 1909 he was often at the building for consultation or inspection of the work; and in these as in other matters gave practical and well-advised counsel. He was exceptionally faithful in attendance at the meetings of the Board, often, it is known, at no little personal inconvenience; and coöperated cheerfully and to good purpose, in the various undertakings of the Society.

We, the members of the Board of Managers of the Buffalo Historical Society here record our deep sense of loss, not only to the institution we represent, but as citizens of a community to the advancement and improvement of which Mr. Hefford devoted himself with unselfishness and high purpose; and we desire that this testimonial of our high esteem and affection, for this worthy man and good citizen, be entered in the records of the Buffalo Historical Society, and also communicated to his family with an expression of our sincere sympathy.



ROBERT RODMAN HEFFORD.

THE BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY PUBLICATIONS

In 1879, after an existence of seventeen years, the Buffalo Historical Society issued its first volume of Publications. Its available material consisted of historical papers which had been read at Society meetings, and of letters and other documents gathered in its archives. A publication committee, consisting of Orsamus H. Marshall, E. S. Hawley and the Rev. A. T. Chester, D. D., in conjunction with Messrs. Bigelow Brothers, publishers, issued a prospectus inviting subscriptions, and were encouraged by the response to undertake the work, which was issued in parts, at twenty-five cents a number. Completed, Volume I gave such satisfaction that in 1880 Volume II was issued in like manner. Both volumes were edited by the Rev. Albert Bigelow, Corresponding Secretary of the Society. The work in all respects was admirably done. The two volumes, containing upwards of eight hundred pages, soon became scarce, have long been out of print and now command a high price whenever by chance copies are offered for sale. They are not esteemed too highly, for they contain records of early Buffalo, Erie Canal papers, memoirs of pioneers and reminiscences of various early phases of life on the Niagara frontier, of real importance to the student but nowhere else preserved.

Nothing more was attempted by way of publication until 1885, when the reburial by the Society of the remains of Red Jacket and other prominent men of the Seneca Nation seemed to call for some printed record beside newspaper reports. Volume III was accordingly prepared, chiefly, it is understood, by Mr. George G. Barnum, then librarian for the Society. It was designated as "Transactions, volume three," but as the preceding volumes were marked "Publications," and as no separate series of "Transactions" has been undertaken, this book is regarded as volume three of the Publications series.

In 1896, at the request of the Society, the present editor (not then actively connected with the institution), prepared Volume IV. It was not, however, until 1902 that the regular issuance of volumes

was undertaken. Since that date fourteen volumes have been published, the present volume being number eighteen of the series.

Volumes I and II—long out of print—deal chiefly with the early history of Buffalo and the Great Lakes, early transportation and the War of 1812. Volume III relates wholly to the Seneca Indians, especially Red Jacket. Volumes IV to IX contain scores of papers on various phases of Western New York history. Volumes X and XI contain a Life of Millard Fillmore, with his speeches and correspondence. Volume XII is a "History of Waterways and Canal Construction in New York State," by Henry Wayland Hill, LL.D., president of the Historical Society. Volumes XIII and XIV relate to canal enlargement, the Holland Land Company, journals of early travel, etc. Volume XV, "Studies of the Niagara Frontier," by Frank H. Severance, secretary of the Society, presents the literary, artistic and scientific aspect of the Niagara Falls region. Volume XVI, "The Picture Book of Earlier Buffalo," by the same author, contains over 400 engravings, with descriptive text. Vol. XVII is especially valuable for its hitherto unpublished documents of the War of 1812. It also contains a full account of the semi-centennial of the Buffalo Historical Society.

Following is a more detailed account of the several volumes and a list of the principal contents of each:

VOL. I. 1879.

8vo. pp. 436. Illustrations and maps. But very few copies procurable for sale.
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DEATH OF JOB HOISINGTON (Poem)	Elder A. Turner
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VOL. III. 1885.

8vo. pp. 119. Frontispiece and cut. Issued as "Transactions" but forming Vol. III of the Publications Series. Price, postpaid, \$1.00.

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EDITORIAL NOTES

EDITORIAL NOTES

THE PEACE CENTENARY.—In planning the present volume it was the editor's purpose to include in it an adequate record of regional events incident to the celebration of the centenary of peace between the United States and Great Britain. The Great War has caused the abandonment of many of the features of the proposed celebration, some of which are referred to in one of the papers in preceding pages. As these pages go to press, it is planned to observe the centenary of the ratification of the Treaty of Ghent, February 17th, with exercises in the public schools; a joint meeting in which the higher educational institutions are to share; and, on February 14th, the Sunday nearest the anniversary, with suitable religious services in the churches.

EPHRAIM DOUGLASS.—The paper on Ephraim Douglass, pp. 115-142, this volume, could have been considerably expanded from available documents. A few supplementary facts may be here noted.

In a "Return of the officers, prisoners of Graves End," 1778, his name appears. He was taken by the British, at Bound Brook, April 13, 1777. He was promoted to be lieutenant, Jan. 27, 1779, in the Ninth Pennsylvania regiment of infantry. In the rearrangement of the Pennsylvania Line (six regiments), Jan. 17, 1781, Ephraim Douglass appears as a lieutenant of the Fifth regiment, the date of his commission being Jan. 20, 1779. (Stillé: "Maj. Gen. Anthony Wayne and the Pennsylvania Line in the Continental Army.") Powell's "Army of the United States," published by Hamersley, 1900, records Ensign Ephraim Douglass as promoted to be lieutenant in the Ninth Pennsylvania Infantry, Jan. 27, 1779.

In 1783, the year of his mission to the Lake posts, he owned 300 acres in Pitt township, Westmoreland Co., Pa. In that year, his name, marked "single," is on a list of inhabitants of Manallen township. He figures, year after year, on the State tax lists. In 1785 his State tax, in Union township, Fayette Co., was £1, 7s, 9d; in 1786, £2, 2s, 2d; and in this year his Pitt township tax was three shillings, seven pence, but by 1791 it had gone up to 10 shillings. Another old Pennsylvania record shows him possessed of 238 acres in West-

moreland Co., which was surveyed in May, 1788. He evidently bought with an eye to the development of the country, and in later years was tax-burdened and land-poor in consequence.

In 1794, on the occasion of the Whiskey Insurrection, he was one of the commissioners appointed to meet President Washington and other officers of the Government, at Bedford, Pa., and inform them of the state of the country; and he appears to have continued to serve until peaceful conditions were established, not merely in a civil but a military character as well; for we find him in command of the First Brigade, Fourth Division of Pennsylvania's quota of troops—a detachment of 10,708 militia, under the requisition of President Washington, "to be in readiness to march at a moment's warning." Gen. Douglass' brigade mustered 598 men from Washington Co. and 339 from Fayette, a total of 937.

One or two brief but illustrative documents may be added to those printed, or quoted from, in preceding pages.

While Douglass was on his way to Detroit, Col. De Peyster, on June 18, 1783, wrote to Captain Matthews, secretary to Gen. Haldimand:

"We are all in expectation of news. Everything that is bad is spread through the Indian country, but as I have nothing more than the King's proclamation from authority, I evade answering impertinent questions. Heavens! if goods do not arrive soon, what will become of me? I have lost several stone wt. of flesh within these twenty days. I hope Sir John [Johnson] is to make us a visit."

The American Government was evidently at this time in great uncertainty as to what really were the intentions of the British. The services of Douglass were continued; and on Feb. 2, 1784, we find him writing from Union Town to President Dickinson of Pennsylvania as follows:

"Early in the fall Sir John Johnson assembled the different western tribes at Sandusky, and having prepared them with presents distributed with lavish profusion, addressed them in a speech to this purport: That the King, his and their common father, had made peace with the Americans and had given them the country they possessed on this continent; but that the report of his having given them any part of the Indian lands was false, and fabricated by the Americans for the purpose of provoking the Indians against their father,—that they should, therefore, shut their ears against it. So far the contrary was proved that the great river Ohio was to be the line between the Indians in this quarter and the Americans; over which the latter ought not to pass and return in safety. That, however, as the war between Britain and America was now at an end, and as the Indians had engaged in it from their attachment to the crown and not from any quarrel of their own, he would, as was usual at the end of a war, take the tomahawk out of their hand;

though he would not remove it out of sight or far from them, but lay it down carefully by their side that they might have it convenient to use in defense of their rights and property, if they were invaded or molested by the Americans."

The British remained in possession of the Lake posts until the summer of 1796. The relations of the United States Government to the British, and to the Indians of the region during these thirteen years, constitute a curious and far from exhausted subject for the investigation of the student.

In President Dickinson's letter to Congress, page 118 of this volume, occurs the statement: "Our armies that have conquered the King of Great Britain, and now have us other enemies to employ their valour," etc. So it reads in the source whence taken, but obviously it should read: "have *no* other enemies," etc.

GEN. SMYTH'S "CAMP NEAR BUFFALO."—Several of the letters of Brigadier General Alexander Smyth, printed in this volume, are dated "Camp near Buffalo." In 1812 the "Army of the Frontier" went into winter quarters at Flint Hill, with Scajaquada creek as a convenient water supply. "Flint Hill" is a name little known to the present generation; but their elders in Buffalo knew it as the region mostly west of Main street and north of Humboldt Parkway, embracing most of the Parkside district and the adjacent portion of Delaware Park. Mr. Barton Atkins, who was born in the neighborhood in 1826, wrote of it, in 1898: "On the Main-street front of this old camp-ground stand several venerable oaks, relicts of the old camp. The one directly opposite the Deaf and Dumb Asylum is distinguished as the one under which a row of soldiers kneeled when shot for desertion in the spring of 1813." One of these old trees still remains, at No. 24 Florence avenue.

"LE POUR ET LE CONTRE."—Pastor Bridel's book is such a curio and so rare withal, that no apology is to be made for including it in our Publications. The reader is reminded, however, that its writer was no "authority" on men and things in America; and many of his statements, which the student will observe are inaccurate, are allowed to pass without note or correction. The object in translating and printing the work was not to call attention to its errors, but to preserve, in available form, one of the great rarities relating to Western New York.

THE AUTHOR OF "TONNEWONTE."—In volume XV. of these Publications, some comment was indulged in, in a discussion of "The Niagara Region in Fiction," on an amusing old novel entitled "Tonnewonte, or The Adopted Son of America." The editor was unable at the time to give the name of the author, but has since learned, on the excellent authority of Mr. Philéas Gagnon of Quebec, that the tale was written by Julia Catharine Beckwith, who became Mrs. G. H. Hart, and who was born and died at Fredericton, New Brunswick. "Tonnewonte," though purporting to give "scenes from real life," is more a source of diversion than of valuable information regarding the Niagara region; and the author's fame rests, perhaps, less on that curious book than on an earlier one, "St. Ursula's Convent, or the Nun of Canada," published at Kingston in 1824, and said to be the first romance, Canadian in subject, by a Canadian author, and printed in Canada. It was the work of a girl of 17, but she was 28, and residing in Kingston, Upper Canada, where her father had removed, when her first book was published by Hugh C. Thomson of that city, in 1824. The next year, at Watertown, N. Y., was published "Tonnewonte"; again printed at Exeter—probably Exeter, New Hampshire—in 1831, and perhaps elsewhere. As literature it is rubbish, but as a literary curio pertaining to the history of our region, it is a treasure and delight.

PICTURES OF EARLIER BUFFALO.—Included in the present volume are a few pictures of Buffalo buildings which have gone, thus continuing the pictorial record of our "Picture Book of Earlier Buffalo," which has proved popular. Some of the views now printed are of buildings long since demolished, but which had not come to hand for inclusion in the volume referred to. Others show buildings lately torn down.

Of especial interest to many an elderly resident of Buffalo will be the very rare view of Court House Square, in later years Lafayette Park, and now transformed beyond recognition. Our picture is a winter view in the '60's, when the park was surrounded by an iron fence, and when the old Court House, and the fire tower on Batavia street [Broadway] were among the town's most conspicuous landmarks.

A one-time prominent house on Niagara Square was the residence of E. B. Seymour, on the site now occupied by the Working Boys' Home. The old house was used for some time as the Home, before the present building was erected. Not the least interesting features of the picture are the young trees protected by boxes, and

the fence, in the Square opposite the houses and driveway. The younger generation can hardly realize the transformation that has taken place in Niagara Square since the '60's. For the use of this picture the Buffalo Historical Society is indebted to Mr. Seymour Guthrie of Chicago.

In January, 1915, the oldest house in Buffalo was torn down. This was a little one-story structure at No. 2485 Main street, which according to such credible witnesses as the late Washington Russell and Barton Atkins, was built in 1809 by Zachary Griffin. When the New York Central Belt Line tracks were laid through the district the house was moved about 100 feet northerly from its original site. Probably about all of the original structure that endured until 1915 was the frame of heavy hewn timbers. The story goes that it was spared at the burning of Buffalo, in 1813, because the Indians, by the time they had got as far out as this on the Williamsville road, were too much overcome by firewater to do any further harm.

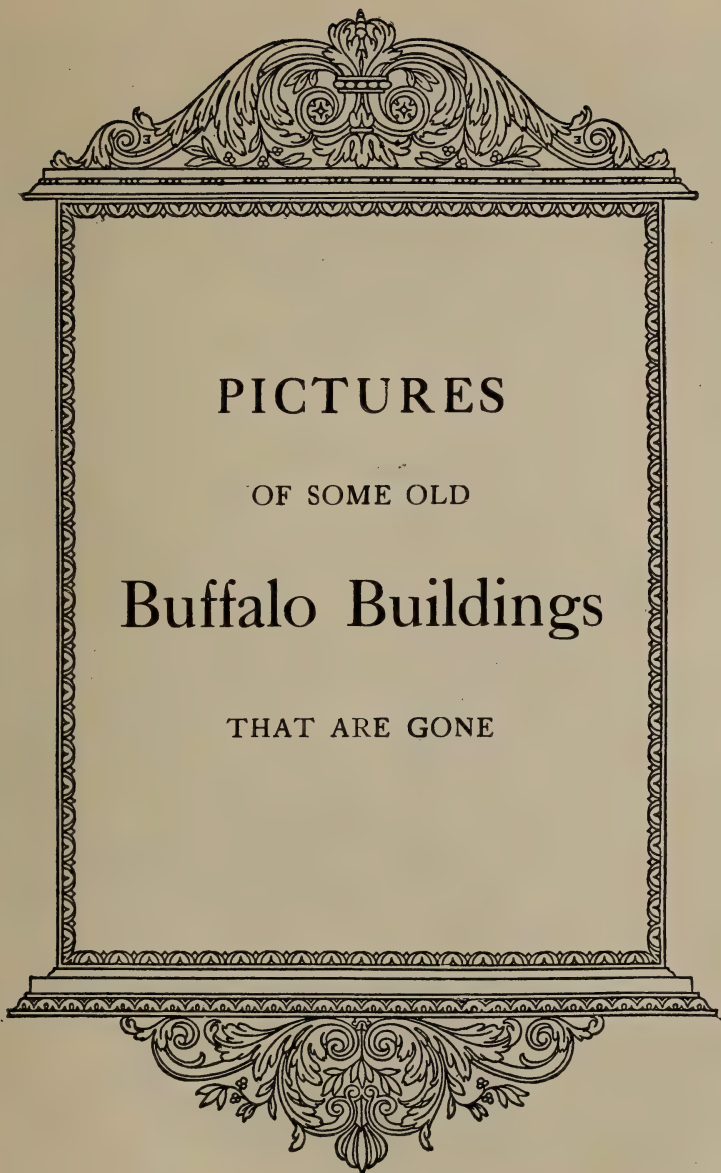
One picture which will stir the memories of some "old timers" is of the old hotel at Cold Spring. It stood at what is now the southeast corner of Main and Ferry streets, but back from the road, with the famous spring in front of it. It was built prior to 1826, in which year Rudolph Barr bought it, and for some ten years carried it on as a tavern and farmers' resort. For many years it was kept by sons of Rudolph Barr, and in its last years by Gerrett Marshall—whose name appeared on the hotel signs as "Garret" Marshall—and the place was known around town as "Gerry Marshall's." Miller's busses in the early days used to make it a terminus, with a 20-cent fare from down-town. It was torn down about 1890.

Some of our pictures show buildings which have been torn down to make room for new railway terminals. Many others in the lower part of the city have gone, or will soon follow, but few of them are notable for historic associations.

Dudley Exchange, or Hall, as it was variously styled, was when new a popular resort. One of our views, made just before its demolition, preserves a hint of its interior, but much altered from its earlier estate. A portion of the building was used, prior to the Civil War, as the office of the Buffalo *Sentinel*. For many years it has chiefly served as warehouse. Its site will be included in that of the proposed passenger station for the Lehigh Valley Railroad.

Another building that disappears in the path of this railroad is the old Union Bethel, a sailors' church or mission half a century or more ago; in its later years, as a sign shows, it has been made useful by a foundry firm.

SULGRAVE MANOR—On page 163 are allusions to the ancestral home of the Washington family in England. Since that paragraph was written, Sulgrave Manor has been purchased by funds subscribed in Great Britain, and in July, 1914, was consigned with appropriate ceremonies to the care of the organization in charge of the proposed centenary peace celebration. It is in fact a peace offering, to be held as a gift to the American people.



PICTURES

OF SOME OLD

Buffalo Buildings

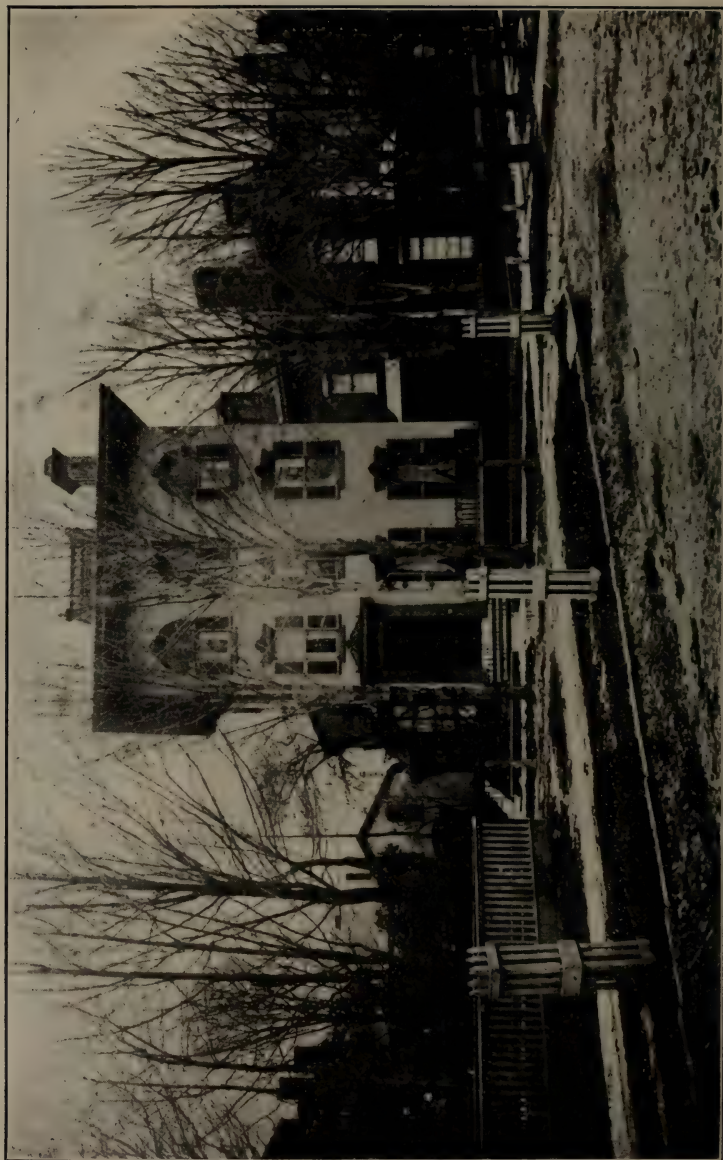
THAT ARE GONE



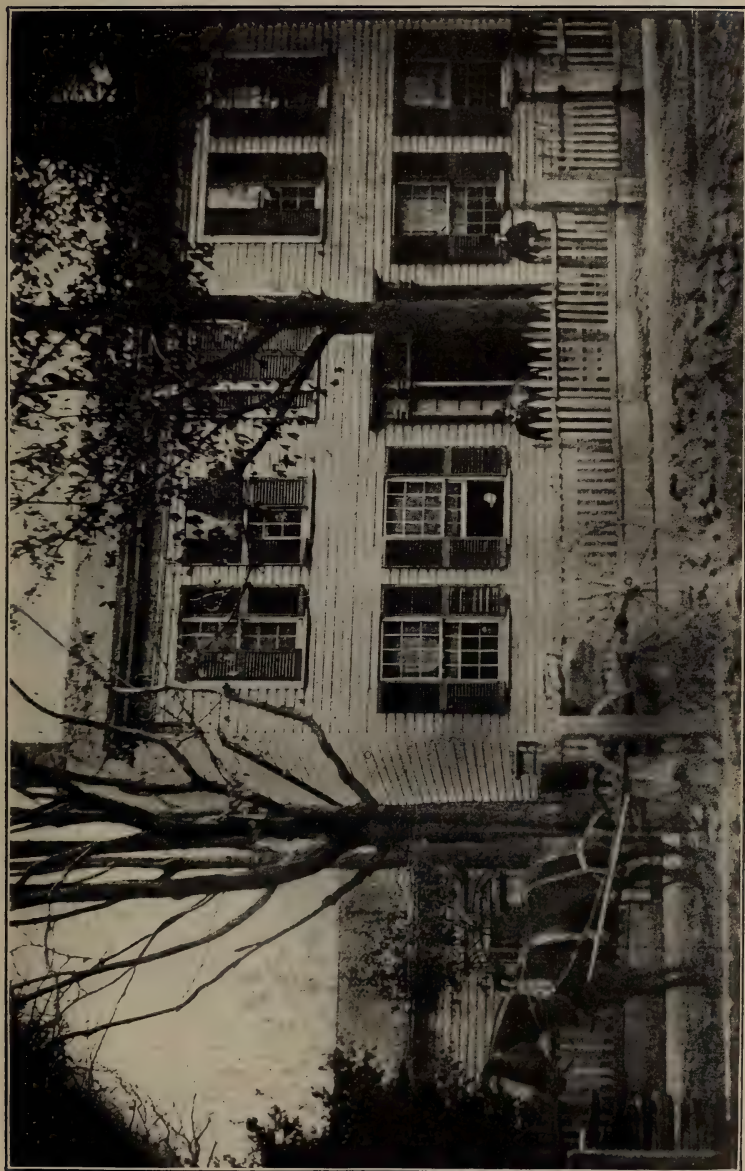
COURT HOUSE PARK, NOW LAFAYETTE SQUARE, IN THE '60'S.
SHOWING THE OLD COURT HOUSE, AND THE FIRE TOWER ON BATAVIA STREET.



COLD SPRING HOTEL, SOUTHEAST CORNER MAIN AND FERRY STREETS.
BUILT IN THE EARLY '20'S, TORN DOWN ABOUT 1890.



RESIDENCE OF E. B. SEYMOUR, NIAGARA SQUARE, TORN DOWN 1896.
SITE NOW OCCUPIED BY THE WORKING BOYS' HOME.



RESIDENCE OF MOSES BAKER, EAST SIDE OF MAIN ABOVE GENESEE STREET, BUILT 1827.



"SHERMAN'S," FOR MANY YEARS A MAIN STREET LANDMARK.
AN EARLY HOME OF BARNES & BANCROFT.



THE ZACHARY GRIFFIN HOUSE, NO. 2485 MAIN STREET.
BUILT 1809. TORN DOWN, JAN., 1915.



THE UNION BETHEL, PERRY AND ILLINOIS STREETS.



CITY HOTEL, EXCHANGE AND MICHIGAN STREETS.

THE VIEW WAS TAKEN IN APRIL, 1865, WHEN THE HOTEL WAS DRAPE IN MOURNING FOR ABRAHAM LINCOLN,



TUCKER'S HOTEL, EXCHANGE AND MICHIGAN STREETS.



DUDLEY'S EXCHANGE, QUAY STREET, TORN DOWN JANUARY, 1914.



INTERIOR OF DUDLEY'S EXCHANGE (UPPER FLOOR).

AT ONE TIME A POPULAR ASSEMBLY HALL, ABOUT CIVIL WAR TIMES, HEADQUARTERS OF THE BUFFALO SEAMAN'S UNION.



THE AETNA INSURANCE BUILDING, CORNER LLOYD AND PRIME STREETS.

WHEN THE LACKAWANNA RAILROAD WAS BUILT IN 1883 THROUGH THAT PART OF BUFFALO, THIS BUILDING WAS MOVED BACK SEVERAL FEET, TORN DOWN ABOUT 1912.

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ERRATA

- P. 71. Sixth line from bottom, for "international delegates" read "international differences."
- P. 118. For "us other enemies" read "no other enemies."
- P. 279. For "Priestly" read "Priestley."

